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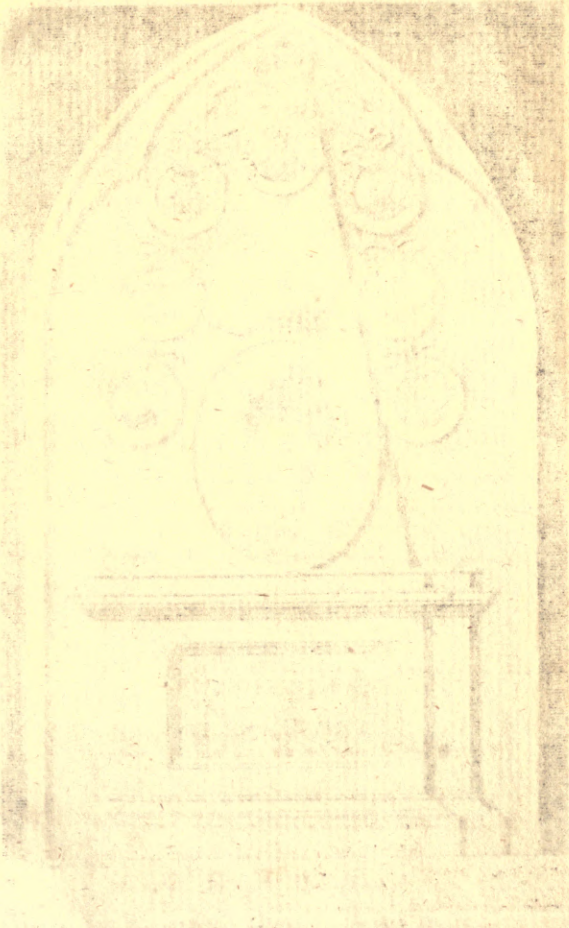

Vol. II.

J. Caldwall sculp.

THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH,

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE

Moſt Eminent STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES, WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, and ARTISTS of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Acceſſion of HENRY VIII. to the preſent Time. Including a Complete Hiſtory of ENGLAND from that Æra.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

Ornamented with elegant Frontiſpieces.

VOL. II.

A NEW EDITION,

Reviſed, corrected, and conſiderably enlarged, by the EDITOR,

T. MORTIMER, Eſq;

LONDON:

Printed for E. and C. DILLY, in the Poultry,
M,DCC,LXXVI.

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1776
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Being the moſt eminent perſons, who flouriſhed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

THE

THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF

ROGER ASCHAM.

[A. D. 1515, to 1568.]

WE are now entering upon the brightest period of the Britiſh hiſtory, in any time preceding our own.

A princeſs endowed with every talent requiſite for the art of government, aſcended the throne in 1558; and happily found herſelf ſurrounded by men of diſtinguiſhed eminence, equally qualified to ſerve their country, in every public department of the church and ſtate.

The ſeeds of true piety, of ſound learning, and of civil liberty, which had been ſown at the reformation, and had eſcaped the cruel ravages of popiſh bigotry during the turbulent reign of Mary, now produced a plentiful harveſt of illuſtrious Engliſhmen, many of whom were wandering in exile, and ſuffering all the inconveniences of obſcurity and indigence, till this happy revolution reſtored them to their country and their friends.

Of theſe, as they contributed to lay the foundation of Elizabeth's future glory, conciſe memoirs muſt be given, before we bring upon the carpet, a general review of the important national tranſactions of this long and proſperous reign; not leſs celebrated by foreign, than by Britiſh hiſtorians.

And the firſt on the liſt, who merits our grateful remembrance, for the principal ſhare he had in forming the mind, and improving the underſtanding of our renowned queen, is Roger Aſcham, the ſon of John Aſcham, ſteward to the antient and noble family of Scroop: he was born at Kirkby-Wiſke, near Northallerton in Yorkſhire, about the year 1515; and in his early youth, was taken into the family of the Wingfields, by Sir Anthony Wingfield, who became his patron, and finding in him an apt diſpoſition for literary attainments, he ſent him in the year 1530, to St. John's college, Cambridge, at the critical juncture when the Greek language began to be taught without oppoſition, in our univerſities. The doctrines of Luther, promulgated and circulated through all parts of Europe, by means of the rapid progreſs of the art of printing, had diffuſed a general inclination throughout the republic of letters, to ſtudy the points in controverſy between the Romiſh church, and the celebrated reformer, which could only be done by attaining a competent knowledge of Greek and our young ſtudent being one of thoſe whoſe

whose mind was fired with generous emulation, applied himself so assiduously to this branch of learning, that he soon became so great a proficient, as to be able to read lectures, and to teach other youth, who were desirous of instruction. "To teach, or to learn, was at this æra the business and the pleasure of the academical life," and young Ascham had the happiness to associate with men of uncommon genius, and of similar dispositions with himself. Sir John Cheeke, who was preceptor to Edward VI. and died in the reign of Mary, of grief, at having recanted his profession, of the reformed religion, was his rival and friend: this gentleman, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, had introduced a new pronunciation of the Greek tongue, which Mr. Ascham at first opposed, till being convinced they were in the right, he finally adopted and recommended it in his public lectures: a circumstance which served to strengthen the social intimacy that had subsisted between the three students. Mr. Ascham likewise gained the approbation of Dr. Metcalf, the master of his college, who, having the interest of learning greatly at heart, recommended him to a fellowship in 1534, when he was but eighteen years of age. At the same time, Pember, a person of great eminence in the university, and a zealous promoter of the study of the Greek language, took him under his protection, and increased his reputation, not only by applauding his public lectures, but by recommending the young gentlemen of his acquaintance, to attend Mr. Ascham at his chambers, to hear the Greek authors read and explained by him. By the advice of this gentleman, Mr. Ascham, as a relaxation from study, learned to play on musical instruments, and to write a very fine hand, an accomplish-

ment then growing into repute; and he excelled in it, which contributed not a little to his future ſucceſs in life.

In 1536 he took the degree of maſter of arts, and ſoon after, he was appointed by the univerſity, teacher of the Greek language in the public ſchools, for which he had a genteel ſalary: he likewiſe commenced tutor, and had ſeveral young ſtudents of rank under his care for other branches of education; ſome of whom proved eminent ſcholars, particularly William Grindal, recommended by Sir John Cheeke, to be maſter of languages to the princeſs Elizabeth.

The reputation of Mr. Aſcham, as a man of extenſive learning, was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the univerſity, that he was elected to the honourable office of public orator, and all the univerſity letters were compoſed by him: his ſkill in the Latin language, and his fine writings which he uſed to embelliſh with drawings, having recommended him to theſe employments. But in all ages, and in every country, conſpicuous merit, while it meets with its due reward from the liberal mind, will always be expoſed to the hatred of the ſelfiſh and envious; no wonder therefore, Mr. Aſcham ſhould find himſelf attacked by his enemies, for indulging himſelf in a manly exerciſe at his leiſure hours. He was particularly fond of archery, and this being an amuſement better ſuited to the ſoldier than the ſcholar, he was freely cenſured for beſtowing his time upon it, which gave birth to a vindication of himſelf, in an excellent little treatiſe, intitled TOXOPHILUS, or, *the ſchole or partitions* of ſhooting, in which he not only commends the art, but lays down rules for teaching in better Engliſh than is to be found in any of the writers of that æra: he dedicated this tract to Henry VIII. who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that

he

he allowed him an annual penſion of ten pounds, a ſum equal to one hundred pounds at preſent. With this penſion, and his other appointments in the univerſity, it appears he had a very comfortable income, beſides gratuities for teaching perſons of the firſt diſtinction to write, particularly prince Edward, the princeſs Elizabeth, and the two brothers, Henry and Charles Brandons, dukes of Suffolk.

Upon the acceſſion of Edward VI. Mr. Aſcham's penſion was renewed, and he was deſired to continue at Cambridge to promote the cauſe of the reformation, in conjunction with his learned friend Bucer, the celebrated German divine, who had been invited over by the univerſity, to fill the chair of divinity profeſſor. But the death of Grindal brought him to court, to attend the princeſs Elizabeth, whoſe ſtudies he directed for two years, by her own appointment; and in this time, ſhe acquired a perfect knowledge of the beſt Greek and Latin authors, by reading them familiarly with Mr. Aſcham. This pleaſing taſk performed, he returned to his former ſtation at the univerſity; and in 1550, being upon a viſit in Yorkſhire, he received intelligence that he was appointed ſecretary to Sir Richard Moriſine, who was preparing to ſet out on an embaſſy to Charles V. emperor of Germany; this promotion obliged him to proceed directly to London, but in his journey he viſited Lady Jane Grey, at her father's houſe at Broadgate in Leiceſterſhire, whom he found reading the Phœdo of Plato in Greek, and he diſcovered ſuch an uncommon ſhare of learning and good ſenſe in her converſation, that he mentions her in his works, as the wonder of her ſex.

Mr. Aſcham attended the ambaſſador to Germany, and remained with him three years, during which time, he cultivated the friendſhip of the

learned in that country, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of politics, which made him very uſeful to Sir Richard, whom he aſſiſted in his private ſtudies, and in the public buſineſs of his embaſſy. Yet neither the concerns of his ſtation, nor his aſſiduity in reading the Greek authors with the ambaſſador, prevented his keeping up a correſpondence with his friends at Cambridge, to whom he wrote ſeveral letters, which are ſtill preſerved with his other works, and ſhew him to have been an accurate obſerver of men and manners; but his abilities as a political writer, likewiſe appeared, in a curious treatiſe which he wrote, while he was on an excurſion to Italy, it is intitled "A report and diſcourſe of the affairs and ſtate of Germany," and is addreſſed in the form of a letter to his friend, Mr. John Aſtley, to whom he gives the cleareſt account of any writer of thoſe times, of the motives which induced the emperor to reſign his crown to his ſon, and retire from the world: it contains alſo, a great number of hiſtorical and political anecdotes and reflections of a very intereſting nature.

While he was thus agreeably employed, his friends at home procured him the poſt of Latin ſecretary to the king, but before he could return to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, he received the melancholy news of the death of his royal maſter, by which fatal event he not only loſt his place and his penſion, but ſeemed to have loſt every proſpect of future preferment: however, contrary to his expectations, being protected by lord Paget, he was raiſed to the ſame poſt under queen Mary, and ſuch was his diligence and diſpatch, that it is ſaid, he compoſed and tranſcribed, in three days, no leſs than forty ſeven Latin letters to princes and other foreigners of diſtinction, particularly to the cardinals, on the

ſubject

ſubject of electing cardinal Pole, by whom he was greatly careſſed on account of his univerſal learning; and though a good ſcholar himſelf, he gave the preference to Mr. Aſcham's ſtyle in Latin, employing him to tranſlate into Latin, the ſpeech he made to the parliament when he reconciled the kingdom to the ſee of Rome, and our author's tranſlation was ſent to Rome, where it was greatly admired, for the purity of the diction.

In 1554, Mr. Aſcham reſigned his fellowſhip, and married Mrs. Margaret Howe, a young lady of good family, with whom he had a conſiderable fortune, and this acquiſition enabled him to live in a great meaſure independent of the court, during the remainder of queen Mary's reign; and it is to be preſumed, that he muſt have put in practice ſome of his political tenets to have enabled him to remain unmoleſted, and even unqueſtioned on the ſubject of his religious principles in the time of the perſecution, when his fellow ſtudent and old companion Sir John Cheeke, fell a victim to his forced recantation.

Upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, his royal pupil, he was ſent for to court, continued in his ſtation of Latin ſecretary, and allowed the ſame ſalary as in the late reign, which was only twenty pounds *per annum*; and though he was admitted to a degree of familiarity with the queen, ſometimes aſſiſting her in her private ſtudies, and at others partaking of her diverſions, ſhe never made any addition to his fortune, except a prebendary in the cathedral of York, which was beſtowed on him in 1559. This inconſiderable preferment was ſo inadequate to his ſervices, and to the rank he held at court in the reign of Edward VI. that it cannot be accounted for on any principle, but that of his extreme modeſty, which prevented him from aſking any favours, and Elizabeth loved

to be courted, and even to be flattered to excefs, to which foible it is highly probable our author did not make a proper facrifice; however, one refpectable writer, Camden, afferts, that he grew diffipated towards the clofe of his life, and confequently negligent of his intereft, fpending much of his time at dice and cock-fighting. In 1563, he compofed an eſteemed treatife, intitled The SCHOOL-MASTER, which he undertook at the requeft of Sir Richard Saville, on account of a warm conteft amongft the nobility and gentry, concerning the beft method of teaching youth the Latin language, but this work was not publifhed till after his death.

From this time, to the year 1568, we have no account of any exertion of his literary talents, and it appears, that his bad ftate of health obliged him to forbear all intenfe application to ftudy. Yet, as a laft effort, he attempted to compofe a poem this year, to be prefented to the queen on the anniverfary of her acceffion, but his diftemper, which was a conſumption, growing worfe by this attempt, and depriving him of reft, he was obliged to decline it, and prepare to meet his approaching end, which he did with pious fortitude and refignation. He died on the 30th of December 1568, and was interred in St. Sepulchre's church London, in the moft private manner, agreeable to his own direction. Being only in the *fifty third* year of his age, his death was greatly lamented by the queen, and by all his cotemporaries in the literary world, who juftly conſidered it as a public lofs, eſteeming him the moft learned man of the age, and the greateft improver of his native language.

*** *Authorities.* Grant's life of Aſcham, Oxford edit. 1703. Wood's Faſti, Oxon. vol. I. Bennet's edit. of Aſcham's works, London 1761.

The

The LIFE of

JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP of SALISBURY.

[A. D. 1522, to 1571.]

THIS eminent divine, and zealous champion for the proteſtant cauſe, was a deſcendant of an antient family in Devonſhire, and was born at the village of Buden in 1522. He ſtood indebted for the firſt rudiments of grammar learning, to the inſtructions of his maternal uncle Mr. John Bellamy, rector of Hamton, by whom it is moſt probable, for we have no account of his parents, he was ſent to Oxford, about the year 1536, to be under the tuition of Peter Burrey of Merton college, but his friends diſcovering that this man was no friend to the reformation, and but a ſlender ſcholar, he was placed ſoon after, under the care of Mr. John Parkhurſt of the ſame college, a man of extenſive learning, and firmly attached to the proteſtant intereſt. Under this preceptor, who was afterwards biſhop of Norwich, young Jewel was initiated in the principles of the reformed religion, and made a conſiderable progreſs in his academical ſtudies.

In 1539, he removed to Corpus Chriſti college, of which he was elected a ſcholar, and the following year, he was admitted to the degree of batchelor of arts, after which, he applied himſelf with uncommon aſſiduity to theological learning; accuſtoming himſelf to riſe at four in the morning, and to continue at his books till ten at night, ſo that it was abſolutely neceſſary to remind him of the hours of refreſhment. By this indefatigable induſtry, he acquired an amazing fund of knowledge, but at the expence of his health, for in conſequence of a cold, he contracted a lameneſs which became incurable.

Thus qualified, Mr. Jewel commenced tutor, and greatly contributed to promote the reformation, by educating his pupils privately in the doctrines of the proteſtant religion. He was likewiſe choſen profeſſor of rhetoric in his college, which office he held with diſtinguiſhed honour ſeven years, and his lectures were ſo much admired, and followed, that the fame of them brought his old preceptor Mr. Parkhuſt from his country retirement to attend them, who was ſo highly pleaſed, that he not only beſtowed the greateſt encomiums on his abilities, but took upon himſelf the charge of his commencement as maſter of arts. In his moral character, he was the example of his college, inſomuch that the dean, who was a rigid papiſt, uſed to ſay to him, "I ſhould love thee Jewel, if thou wert not a Zuinglian. In thy faith, I hold thee to be an heretic, but ſurely, in thy life, thou art an angel."

On the acceſſion of Edward VI. Mr. Jewel threw off the veil of ſecrecy; made a public declaration of his religious opinions; entered into a cloſe friendſhip with Peter Martyr, the divinity profeſſor of the univerſity, and took all opportunities

tunities to defend the new eſtabliſhed form of worſhip. In 1550, he took the degree of batchelor in divinity, and upon this occaſion he preached an excellent Latin ſermon. About this time, he was preſented to the Rectory of Sunningwell, in Berkſhire, the income of which was but ſmall, but though his lameneſs made walking painful to him, he never neglected the duty, but went to his church on foot every other Sunday to preach and to catechiſe.

The reſult of Mr. Jewel's indefatigable zeal in ſupporting the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, during the reign of Edward, was a virulent proſecution inſtantly ſet on foot againſt him by the Romaniſts, when Mary came to the crown. The fellows of his own college began it, by expelling him for hereſy, before the queen was well ſeated on the throne, or any public orders iſſued for reſtoring the old religion. But the univerſity at the ſame time, having the higheſt opinion of his literary abilities, employed him to compoſe their congratulatory addreſs upon the queen's acceſſion, and appointed him their orator. It is ſurmiſed, however, that this diſtinguiſhed honour was intended to enſnare him, by rendering him odious to his own party if he accepted it, or by provoking the Roman catholics if he refuſed it: Admitting that ſuch was the deſign of his enemies, they muſt have been greatly mortified, for the addreſs met with the approbation of Treſham the vice-chancellor, and the heads of the colleges, and was favourably received by the queen.

Mr. Jewel did not quit the univerſity when he was expelled his own college, but withdrew to Broad-gate-hall, now Pembroke college, where he continued his lectures, and attended his pupils as uſual. But being required ſoon after, upon

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the re-eſtabliſhment of popery, to ſubſcribe to the popiſh tenets, his life being threatened if he refuſed, he outwardly complied, but as it was well known that his ſignature was compulſive, Dr. Martial, dean of Chriſt-church, alledged, probably with truth on his ſide, that his ſubſcription was inſincere, and therefore, he reſolved to ſecure him, that he might be cloſely examined by Bonner the grand inquiſitor. Mr. Jewel receiving private intelligence of his deſign, left Oxford the very night that Martial ſent for him, and took a bye road for London. He purſued his journey on foot, till he was quite exhauſted, and obliged to lay down upon the ground; in this deplorable ſituation, totally incapable of proceeding any further, he was providentially found by Auguſtin Bernher, a Swiſs, who had been in the ſervice of Biſhop Latimer, and was now a divine. This gentleman procured him a horſe, and conducted him to the houſe of lady Anne Warcup, by whom he was hoſpitably entertained for ſome time, and then privately accompanied in ſafety to the capital: here he was obliged to uſe the greateſt precaution, for his flight alone was a conviction of hereſy, and incredible pains were taken to diſcover him by Bonner's emiſſaries, which obliged him to change his lodgings frequently in the night; at length his eſcape from England was happily effected, by the care of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, his particular friend, who provided him a veſſel, and gave him money for his ſupport; and of Giles Lawrence, a fellow collegian, who lived near the Tower, and conveyed him on board.

As ſoon as he landed upon the continent, he proceeded directly to Frankfort, where he arrived in 1554, and immediately made a public proteſtation of his ſincere contrition, for the ſubſcription he had made to the Romiſh faith. Peter Martyr

had

had left England upon the firſt notice of the death of Edward VI. and now reſided at Straſburgh; Mr. Jewel, therefore, accepted the invitation of his old friend, and went to reſide with him. Peter Martyr had converted his houſe into a kind of college for learned men, and he made Mr. Jewel his deputy, he likewiſe aſſiſted him in compoſing his theological lectures, and accompanied him to Zurich; and it was probably from this place that Mr. Jewel made an excurſion to Padua, where he commenced a friendſhip with Signior Scipio, a noble Venetian, to whom he afterwards addreſſed his epiſtle relative to the council of Trent.

When the joyful news of queen Elizabeth's peaceful acceſſion, rendered his return to England not only ſafe, but eligible, he joined ſeveral other proteſtant exiles, who were all equally anxious to be reſtored to their native country, and embarked for London the beginning of the year 1559. The fortunate exiles, for ſuch they may be called who eſcaped the horrors of the laſt reign, were all graciouſly received by our proteſtant queen, and thoſe who were moſt eminent for their piety and learning, among the clergy, were ſoon provided for in the church. Mr. Jewel in particular, was put into the liſts of the ſixteen divines, who were appointed to hold a public diſputation againſt the papiſts in Weſtminſter Abbey, on the 31ſt of March 1559. In July of the ſame year, he was conſtituted one of the viſitors of the dioceſes in the weſt of England, who were enjoined to purge them of popery, and in January 1560, he was promoted to the ſee of Saliſbury.

Certain eccleſiaſtical habits were enjoined by authority, about this time, to be worn by the different orders of the clergy of the church of England, which occaſioned a warm controverſy, and it appears that our new prelate, though he thought

thought proper to comply with the orders iſſued by his ſovereign, by no means approved of theſe veſtments, for he complained of them in his letters to his friends upon the continent, as the relicks of popiſh ſuperſtition; he likewiſe objected to the crucifix being retained in the queen's chapel, conſidering it in the light of worldly policy. Yet certainly, theſe matters were ſo trifling, in compariſon of the eſſentials of religion, that he acted the part of a pious divine to accept a biſhopric, in which ſtation, he knew he could be ſingularly uſeful to the new eſtabliſhment, and perhaps be able in time, to root out every remaining abſurd ceremony. Accordingly, we find him very ſoon after his conſecration giving a public challenge, in a ſermon preached at St. Paul's Croſs, to all Roman catholics, whether natives or foreigners, to produce a ſingle evidence, either from the fathers, or from any other writers who flouriſhed in the ſix firſt centuries of the chriſtian æra, in favour of any one of the articles of the church of Rome, and two years after, when he found no convincing anſwer was likely to be made to this open appeal to the public, he publiſhed his famous apology for, or rather defence of the church of England.

The advocates for the old religion, however, were not idle, either at home or abroad, the deprived dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Cole, commenced an epiſtolary controverſy with our prelate, upon the ſubject of his ſermon, but railing inſtead of argument was Cole's talent, which the reader will recollect in his conduct to archbiſhop Cranmer. The biſhop's challenge was publiſhed at London in 1560; and four years afterwards, John Raſtal a Jeſuit, publiſhed at Antwerp, what he ſtyled, "A confutation of Jewel's ſermon." The ſame year Thomas Dorman publiſhed at the ſame place, "A proof of certain articles of religion

ligion denied by Mr. Jewel." Raſtall was anſwered by William Fulke, and Dorman by Alexander Nowell, a brother exile with Jewel, who had been rewarded for his merit and ſufferings with the deanry of St. Paul's. But the only opponent, whoſe work out-lived the controverſy, was Thomas Harding of Louvain; this author publiſhed an anſwer to Mr. Jewel's challenge in 1564, a quarto volume, a full refutation of which was publiſhed by the biſhop in folio, in 1566. It is intitled, "A reply to Mr. Harding's anſwer." His antagoniſt printed two rejoinders, and thus ended the controverſy. By the peruſal of the biſhop's work, in which all the arguments in Harding's anſwer are candidly ſtated, the unbiaſſed reader will be able to determine with whom the victory manifeſtly remains.

Our prelate's apology for the church of England, and his reply to Harding, were tranſlated into all the modern languages of Europe, and into Greek, ſo that his works converted many thouſands to the proteſtant religion, who could not have the benefit of his perſonal inſtructions. In reward for theſe eminent ſervices, the univerſity of Oxford gave him an honorary degree of doctor in divinity, in 1565, juſtly conſidering, that it would be an affront to require the preſence, and examination of a divine, who had given ſuch evident proofs of his theological abilities. The following year, biſhop Jewel preſided at the divinity diſputations held at this univerſity, in preſence of the queen.

His public conduct in his dioceſe, likewiſe procured him the veneration and eſteem of all good men; and reflected honour on the whole bench of biſhops, moſt of whom followed his example. By paying a particular attention to the proceedings of his chancellor and archdeacons, by preſiding frequently

frequently in his consistory court, and by inspecting the lives of the private clergy, he produced a perfect reformation, and delivered the people from the shameful extortions of the stewards, and the inferior officers of the ecclesiastical court; his humane concern for the welfare of the poor, was extended also to the civil jurisdiction, for as he was in the commission of the peace, he frequently sat on the bench with the justices, and corrected many abuses in the exercise of that office; and acting in the same capacity at his episcopal seat (for bishops at that time resided on their dioceses, except they were summoned to court, or to attend the parliament) he composed the petty quarrels arising among neighbours, and prevented vexatious law suits.

But his constant unwearied application to so many pious and important concerns, added to his fondness for study, and the little inclination he had for any recreative amusements, destroyed his health, yet no intreaties or persuasions of his friends could induce him to alter his usual hours, or to remit his incessant labour. He still continued his practice, of rising about four in the morning, at five, he called his family to prayers, at six, he attended public worship in his cathedral, the remainder of the morning was passed in his study; the afternoon was taken up in public audiences: about nine, in the evening, he called his servants to an account, examining how they had passed their time; and then went to prayers with his family: from this time till midnight he withdrew to his study, and then, he went to bed, but generally one of his chaplains read to him till he fell asleep. A life so watchful and laborious, could not fail of bringing on a decline, but when a visible alteration was observed, all the answer he gave to the friendly hints thrown out upon this melancholy

melancholly ſubject was, "A biſhop ſhould die preaching." And his words were very nearly fulfilled to the letter: for a ſhort time before his death, having promiſed to preach at ſome church in Wiltſhire, he was met on the road by a gentleman, who perceiving by his looks that he was very ill, adviſed him to return home, telling him, that the people had better loſe one ſermon, than be totally deprived of ſuch a preacher. But the biſhop continued his journey, and preached his laſt ſermon, but with great difficulty, for upon his return he grew worſe, and died in a few days, in September 1571, at Monkton Farley, in his dioceſe. He was buried in the choir of Saliſbury cathedral.

It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, after the character already given of this primitive biſhop, that his death was univerſally lamented; much leſs can we attempt any addition to it, we ſhall therefore only mention, that he was remarkable for an uncommon memory, which he improved by art. It is aſſerted, by the firſt writer of his life, Dr. Lawrence Humfrey, that he taught this art to Dr. Parkhurſt his old tutor, while they were in exile at Zurich, and enabled him in the ſpace of twenty-eight days, with only one hour's application each day, to repeat the whole Goſpel of St. Matthew, and upon naming any ſeparate verſe, to recite the preceding and ſubſequent verſes. As to his own ſermons they were chiefly extempore, from heads put down in writing, on which he uſed to meditate while the bell was ringing to ſummon him to church. Several experiments were likewiſe made of the ſtrength of his memory, which are related at large by the ſame writer, but it is of much more conſequence for us to know, that his theological and polemical works, rendered his name celebrated all over Europe; and that all his

his Engliſh works, ſtill held in eſteem by divines, were publiſhed together in Folio, at London in 1609.

*** *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. and hiſt. and antiq. of Oxford. Humfrey, and Featly's life of Jewel. Britiſh biography.

The LIFE of

JOHN KNOX.

[A. D. 1505, to 1572.]

OUR chronological plan now conducts us to a review of the progreſs of the reformation in the church of Scotland, where it was manfully propagated by one of the moſt eminent men of the age in which he lived, the celebrated John Knox, deſcended from an ancient and honorable family. He was born at Giffard, near Haddington in Scotland in 1505, from whence he was removed at a proper age to the univerſity of St. Andrews, and placed under the tuition of the learned Mr. John Mair; and he applied with ſuch uncommon diligence to the academical learning then in vogue, that, in a ſhort time, and while yet very young, he obtained the degree of maſter of arts.

As the bent of his inclination led him ſtrongly to the church, he turned the courſe of his ſtudies very early to divinity, and, by the advantage of his

his tutor's inſtructions, ſoon became remarkable for his knowledge in ſcholaſtic theology; ſo that he took prieſt's orders before the period uſually allowed by the canons: and, from being a learner, began himſelf to teach with great applauſe, his beloved ſcience. But, after ſome time, upon a careful peruſal of the fathers of the church, and particularly the writings of St. Jerom and St. Auſtin, his ſentiments were entirely altered. He quitted the cobweb ſubtilty of the ſchools, and took to the ſtudy of plain, ſolid, rational divinity.

Having once embraced the ſcriptural doctrines of chriſtianity, he attended none but ſuch preachers, whom he knew to be of the ſame way of thinking, the moſt eminent of whom was Guilliam, a black-friar, whoſe ſermons were of extraordinary ſervice to him. This friar was provincial of his order in 1543, when the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, favoured the reformation; and Mr. George Wiſhart, another celebrated reformer, coming from England in the ſucceeding year, with the commiſſioners ſent from king Henry VIII. Knox being of an inquiſitive nature, learned from him the principles of the Proteſtants; with which he was ſo pleaſed, that he renounced the Romiſh religion, and became a zealous reformer, having left St. Andrews a little before, to be tutor to the ſons of the lairds of Ormiſtoun and Languidry, who were both favourers of the reformation.

Mr. Knox's ordinary reſidence was at Languidry, where he not only inſtructed his pupils in the different branches of academical learning, but was particularly careful to inſtil into their minds the principles of piety and of the proteſtant religion: this coming to the ears of David Beaton, the cardinal and archbiſhop of St. Andrews, that prelate

proſe-

profecuted him with ſuch ſeverity, that he was frequently obliged to abſcond, and fly from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with ſuch continual dangers, he reſolved to retire to Germany, where the new opinions were ſpreading very faſt; knowing that in England, though the pope's authority was ſuppreſſed, yet the greater part of the Romiſh tenets ſtill prevailed, and had the ſanction of the king's authority. But he was diſſuaded from this ſtep, by both the fathers of his pupils, and cardinal Beaton being aſſaſſinated by Norman and John Leſlie, in the caſtle of St. Andrews, in 1546, in conſequence of his having condemned and burnt their relation the venerable George Wiſhart for hereſy; Knox was adviſed to take ſhelter with his pupils in the caſtle, now in poſſeſſion of the Leſlies, the determined friends of the reformed religion.

Here he began to teach his pupils in his uſual manner. Beſides the grammar, and the claſſical authors, he read a catechiſm to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publicly, in the pariſh-church of St. Andrews. He likewiſe continued to read to them the goſpel of St. John, proceeding where he left off, at his departure from Languidry. This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the caſtle, and was attended by ſeveral gentlemen of the place. Among theſe Mr. Henry Bolnaveis, and John Rough, a preacher there, being pleaſed with the manner of his doctrine, began earneſtly to entreat him to take upon him the office of a preacher, but he abſolutely refuſed; alledging, in a ſtrain of humour, for which he was remarkable, "that he would not run where God had not called him." Hereupon, theſe gentlemen deliberating the matter in a conſultation with Sir David Lindſay, of the Mount, lyon king at arms, a perſon of great probity and learning, it was concluded to give Mr.

Mr. Knox a charge publicly by the mouth of Mr. Rough from the pulpit, to preach the gospel of Christ to the deluded multitude, at a time when they stood most in need of such able teachers; and this was accordingly done in a sermon composed for the occasion, the congregation at the same time joining with their minister, in declaring their belief that this was a holy vocation which he could not refuse.

Mr. Knox, with some reluctance consented, and after retiring for a few days from all society, he ascended the pulpit, and at once discovered that the protestant cause had now acquired a most intrepid leader, whose fortitude, eloquence and learning, would both astonish and confound his adversaries. Instead of trifling with the subject, he boldly laid the axe to the root of popery in his first sermon, proving to the satisfaction of his auditors, that the doctrine of the Romish church was contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles.

This sermon made a great noise; and the popish clergy being much incensed at it, the abbot of Paisley, lately nominated to the see of St. Andrew's, and not yet consecrated, wrote a letter to the sub-prior, who, *sede vacante*, was vicar-general, expressing great surprize, that such heretical and schismatical doctrines were suffered to be taught without opposition.

Upon this rebuke, every official measure was taken to oppose Mr. Knox, but he carefully avoided incurring ecclesiastical censures, by a peculiar and happy address; in particular, the sub-prior having ordered all the learned divines in St. Andrew's to preach by rotation in the parish churches on Sundays; to avoid all controversial points, his discourses were properly guarded on the Sabbaths; but as the injunction did not extend

extend to other days, he made amends to his proteſtant auditors, by preaching frequently on week-days, and with unbounded latitude againſt the errors of popery; and his public miniſtry at St. Andrew's was attended with that ſucceſs, which always accompanies the doctrines of truth, delivered with manly eloquence and pious intrepidity: Popery ſenſibly loſt ground, while converts to the reformed religion increaſed daily; and he was the firſt miniſter who ventured to adminiſter the ſacrament in Scotland, according to the rites of the reformed church, but ſuch was the zeal he had inſpired, that all the people in the caſtle and many of the inhabitants of the town joined in communion with him. But this rapid ſucceſs only laſted from Eaſter to July 1547, when the caſtle was ſurrendered to the French, who were at war with Scotland.

Mr. Knox continued thus in the diligent diſcharge of his miniſterial work, till July in that year, when the caſtle was ſurrendered to the French.

Mr. Knox was carried with the garriſon to France, and remained a priſoner on board the gallies till the latter end of the year 1549; when, being ſet at liberty, he paſſed to England; and going to London, was there licenſed, and appointed preacher, firſt at Berwick and next at Newcaſtle.

While he was thus employed, he received a ſummons in 1551, to appear before Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, for preaching againſt the maſs; but what was the event we are not informed; however in 1552, he was appointed one of the ſix chaplains, whom the council thought proper to retain in the ſervice of Edward VI. not only to attend the court, but to be itinerary preachers of

of the new religion all over the kingdom, and, the enſuing year, he had the grant of forty pounds per annum, till ſome benefice in the church ſhould be conferred on him. The ſame year he came into ſome trouble on account of a bold ſermon preached at Newcaſtle, upon Chriſtmas-day, againſt the obſtinacy of the Papiſts; after which he returned to London; and, being well eſteemed by his majeſty and ſome of the court, for his zealous preaching againſt the errors of the Romiſh church, he was appointed to preach before the king and council at Weſtminſter, and in his ſermon he levelled ſome ſevere ſtrokes with honeſt freedom againſt ſome great men of the court, who were ſecret abbettors of popery.

Yet it is evident, the council were not diſpleaſed, for about this time, the living of Allhallows, in London, was offered to him; but he refuſed it, not caring to conform to the Engliſh Liturgy as it then ſtood.

He was called before the council on this refuſal, and was told, that they were ſorry to find him of a contrary mind, to the common order. Knox replied, "he was ſorry the common order "was contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution," alluding to ſome ceremonies ſtill retained in the church of England, to which he objected, and on the ſame ground, it is ſaid, he refuſed a biſhopric, vehemently condemning all eccleſiaſtical dignities. However, he ſtill held his place of itinerary preacher; and, in the diſcharge of that office, going to Buckinghamſhire, was greatly pleaſed with his reception at ſome towns, particularly at Amerſham, in that county; and he continued to preach there, and at other places, ſome time after queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne.

But, in the year 1554, he left England, and, croſſing the ſea to Dieppe, in France, went from thence

thence to Geneva; where he had not long reſided, when he was called by the congregation of Engliſh refugees, then eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, to be preacher to them. This vocation he obeyed, though unwillingly, at the command of John Calvin: and he continued at Frankfort till ſome of the principal perſons of his congregation, finding it impoſſible to perſuade him to uſe the Engliſh Liturgy, reſolved to effect his removal from the place.

With that view, Dr. Cox, an Engliſh proteſtant exile (biſhop of Ely, in the reign of Elizabeth) and his party, being determined to eſtabliſh the church of England ſervice at Frankfort, in oppoſition to that of Geneva, eſpouſed by Knox; took the moſt ungenerous meaſures to oblige him to quit the city. Knox had publiſhed a treatiſe ſome time before in England, intitled, "An Admonition to Chriſtians;" in which, with his uſual boldneſs, he had ſaid, that the emperor of Germany was as great an enemy to Chriſt as Nero; and his adverſaries taking advantage of this and ſome other unguarded expreſſions in the treatiſe, accuſed him to the magiſtrates, of treaſon, committed both againſt their ſovereign, the emperor of Germany, and alſo againſt their own ſovereign in England, queen Mary; and the magiſtrates, not having it in their power to ſave him, if he ſhould be demanded, either by the emperor, or, in his name, by queen Mary, gave him private notice thereof; which he no ſooner received, than he ſet out for Geneva; where he arrived on the 26th of March, 1555, but ſtaid there only till Auguſt following; when, reſolving, after ſo long an abſence, to make a viſit to his native country, he went to Scotland.

Upon his arrival there, finding the profeſſors of the reformed religion much increaſed in number, and

and formed into a ſociety under the inſpection of ſome teachers, he aſſociated himſelf with them, and preached to them. Preſently after this, he accompanied one of them, the laird of Dun, to his ſeat in the north; where he reſided a month, teaching and preaching daily to conſiderable numbers who reſorted thither; among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country.

From thence returning to Lothian, he lived, for the moſt part, in the houſe of Calder, with Sir James Sandilands, where he met with many perſons of the firſt rank; with whom he converſed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the proteſtant doctrine.

He afterwards preached for a conſiderable time at Edinburgh, and in 1556, he went to the weſt of Scotland, at the deſire of ſome proteſtant gentlemen, and preached in many places in Kyle; in ſome, he alſo celebrated the Euchariſt after the manner of the reformed churches. He likewiſe viſited the earl of Glencairn, at his houſe of Fynlaiſton in the county of Renfrew, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to his lordſhip's family.

From theſe weſtern parts he returned to the eaſt, and reſided ſome time at Calder, where many reſorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the ſacraments. From thence, he went a ſecond time to the laird of Dun's houſe, in the county of Mearns, where he preached more publicly than before, and adminiſtered the ſacraments to many perſons of note at their deſire.

The popiſh clergy being greatly alarmed at this ſucceſs of Mr. Knox, in protecting the proteſtant cauſe, ſummoned him to appear before them in the church of the Black-Friars in Edinburgh, on the 15th of May, 1556; and ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, among whom was the laird of Dun, reſolving to ſtand by him, he determined to obey

the ſummons. But the proſecution was dropped when the biſhops perceived ſuch a conſiderable party in his favour. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day on which he was cited; where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; and in the biſhop of Dunkeld's houſe he inſtructed great numbers of people, who were deſirous of embracing the proteſtant religion, twice a day, for ten days ſucceſſively.

At this time, the earl of Glencairn prevailed with the earl mareſhal, and his truſtee, Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr. Knox's ſermons. They were extremely well ſatisfied with his diſcourſe, and propoſed to him to write to the queen-regent an earneſt letter, to perſuade her, if poſſible, to hear the proteſtant doctrine. He complied with their deſire, and wrote to her the latter end of May, 1556. The letter was delivered by the earl of Glencairn. The queen read it and gave it to James Beauton, archbiſhop of Glaſgow (nephew of the cardinal who was aſſaſſinated) with this ſarcaſtic expreſſion, "Pleaſe you, my lord, to "read a paſquil?"

This gave occaſion to Mr. Knox to make ſome additions to his letter, which he printed at Geneva in 1558.

While our reformer was thus occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the Engliſh congregation at Geneva, earneſtly entreating him to come thither; and, having ſeriouſly conſidered this invitation, he determined to comply with it. Accordingly, in July, 1556, he left Scotland, went firſt to Dieppe, in France, and from thence to Geneva.

He had no ſooner turned his back, than the biſhops ſummoned him before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they paſſed ſentence againſt him for hereſy, and burned him in effigy at the croſs

croſs of Edinburgh. Againſt this proceſs he afterwards printed, at Geneva, in 1558, his "famous appellation from the cruel and moſt unjuſt ſentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe biſhops and clergy of Scotland, with his ſupplication to the nobility, eſtates, and commonality of the ſaid realm;" a maſter-piece of its kind, not only for the noble defence of religious independency contained in it, but for the elegance and purity of the ſtyle.

In March, 1557, ſeveral noblemen, the chief promoters of the reformation at that time in Scotland, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good poſture, and being ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of Mr. Knox for this purpoſe, ſent him an expreſs, earneſtly deſiring him to return home. This letter coming to his hands in May, 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but, having conſulted with Calvin, and other miniſters, they gave it, as their opinion, that he could not refuſe ſuch a plain call, unleſs he would declare himſelf rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his country. The congregation, upon this, yielded to his departure; and he wrote back by the meſſengers who brought the letter, that he would return to Scotland with all reaſonable expedition.

Accordingly, having provided for his flock at Geneva, he left them about the end of September, and came to Dieppe, in his way to Scotland, in October. But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new conſultations were entered into, and adviſing him to ſtay at Dieppe till the concluſion of them. This was alſo farther explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr. Knox, wherein he was told, that many of

thoſe who had before joined in the invitation, were becoming inconſtant, and began to draw back.

Upon the receipt of theſe advices, Mr. Knox wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the lords who had invited him, concerning their raſhneſs; wherein he denounced judgments againſt ſuch as ſhould be inconſtant in the religion they now profeſſed. Beſides which, he wrote ſeveral other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and to the profeſſors of the reformed religion of an inferior degree; exhorting them to conſtancy in that doctrine, and giving ſome uſeful cautions againſt the errors of ſectaries, which grew up about this time, both in Germany and in England.

In theſe letters he alſo enjoined them to give due obedience to authority in all lawful things: and they had ſuch an effect on thoſe who received them, that they, one and all, entered into an agreement to commit themſelves, and whatſoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than ſuffer idolatry to reign; or the ſubjects to be defrauded of their religious liberties: and to ſecure each others fidelity to the proteſtant cauſe, a common bond, or covenant, was made and entered into by them, dated at Edinburgh, on the third of December, 1557; and from this period, they were known by the title of the CONGREGATION.

Mr. Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of 1558, and the ſame year he printed there, his treatiſe, intitled, "The Firſt Blaſt of the trum-"pet againſt the monſtrous regimen of women." He deſigned to have written a ſubſequent piece, which was to have been called, "The Second "Blaſt:" But queen Mary dying ſoon after the Firſt was publiſhed; and having a great eſteem for queen Elizabeth, whom he looked upon as an inſtrument

ſtrument raiſed up, by the providence of God, for the good of the Proteſtants, he went no farther.

In 1559, he determined to return to his native country; and, having a ſtrong deſire, in his way thither, to viſit thoſe in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Goſpel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old acquaintance, now ſecretary of ſtate, to procure leave for that purpoſe. But this petition was ſo far from being granted, that the meſſenger, whom he ſent to ſolicit that favour, very narrowly eſcaped impriſonment. For it appears, that Knox's doctrine, contained in his "Firſt Blaſt," needed no ſequel, and could not fail of giving great diſguſt to Elizabeth; for he aſſerts in it, "that it is unnatural, abſurd, "and impious, for women in any country, to be "intruſted with the government of ſtates and "kingdoms."

Hereupon, he made the beſt of his way to Scotland, where he arrived in May, and was very active in promoting the reformation there, as appears from the ſecond book of his hiſtory, which contains a full account of his conduct till the Proteſtants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which tranſaction, in July of the ſame year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir William Cecil, incognito, at Stamford; but his journey being retarded by the danger of paſſing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was afterwards ſent, in company with Mr. Robert Hamilton, another proteſtant miniſter, to negotiate theſe affairs between the Proteſtants in Scotland, and queen Elizabeth.

When they came to Berwick, they remained ſome days with Sir James Crofts, the governor, who undertook to manage their buſineſs for them, and adviſed them to return home, which they did. Secretary Cecil ſent alſo an anſwer to the proteſ-

tant nobility and gentry, concerning their propoſals to queen Elizabeth; which was ſo cool that they were very near reſolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr. Knox interpoſed with ſo much earneſtneſs, that they allowed him to write once more to the ſecretary. To this letter an anſwer was returned without loſs of time, deſiring that ſome perſons of credit might be ſent to confer with the Engliſh at Berwick; and the ſame diſpatch informed them, that a ſum of money was ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cauſe; aſſuring them, that, if the lords of the congregation were willing to enter into a league with queen Elizabeth, upon honourable terms, they neither ſhould want men or money.

Upon this anſwer, Mr. Henry Balnavers, a man well reſpected in both kingdoms, was ſent to Berwick, who ſoon returned with a ſum of money, which defrayed the public expence till November; when John Cockburne, of Ormiſtoun, being ſent for the ſecond ſupport, received it, but fell into the hands of earl Bothwell, who took the money from him.

The effect of theſe negotiations was, the ſending of an Engliſh army under the command of the duke of Norfolk, to aſſiſt the Scotch proteſtants, and protect them againſt the perſecutions of the queen-regent, dowager of James V. who was ſupported by the arms of France; but the duke of Norfolk's army being joined by almoſt all the great men in Scotland, a peace was procured and concluded between the three kingdoms, on the eighth of July, 1560.

The congregationers being freed by this peace from any diſturbance, made ſeveral regulations towards propagating and eſtabliſhing the new religion; and, in order to have the reformed doctrine preached

preached throughout the kingdom, a diviſion was made thereof into twelve diſtricts, (for the whole number of the reformed miniſters at this time was only twelve); whereby the diſtrict of Edinburgh was aſſigned to Mr. Knox. Theſe twelve miniſters compoſed a confeſſion of faith, which was afterwards ratified by parliament. They alſo compiled the firſt books of diſcipline for their new church, and thus the papal authority, and the Romiſh worſhip was aboliſhed in the kingdom of Scotland.

In the following year, however, the celebrated Mary, queen of Scots, arrived in her native country, from which ſhe had been abſent thirteen years, though ſhe was now but nineteen, and the widow of Francis II. king of France, who had been dead about a year. On the Sunday after her arrival, ſhe commanded maſs to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace, which ſtep occaſioned great murmurs among the proteſtants who attended the court, and Knox with his accuſtomed freedom and boldneſs, declared from the pulpit, that, "One maſs was more frightful to "him, than ten thouſand armed enemies landed "in the kingdom." And the animoſity of the people againſt popery, being increaſed by the apprehenſion of ſeeing it reſtored again by royal authority was ſo great, that the queen's ſervants belonging to the chapel, were greatly inſulted and abuſed; further violence in all probability would likewiſe have enſued; if the prior of St. Andrew's who was one of the heads of the proteſtant party, had not ſeaſonably interpoſed. And by the perſuaſions of this gentleman, who brought over ſome of the moſt moderate of the proteſtant leaders to his opinion, the queen and her domeſtics were permitted to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion unmoleſted. But Knox's freedom of ſpeech

was not so readily forgiven; it had given great offence to the queen, who sent for him, and they held a long conference together on different subjects, which only served to increase Mary's aversion to him: for, in answer to the queen's accusation, that he had written a book which tended to subvert her authority, he told her, in an uncourtly style: "That if the realm found no "inconvenience in being governed by a wo-"man, that which the people approved, he should "not disallow farther than within his own breast; "but should be as well content to live under her "Grace, as Paul was under Nero." "And my "hope is," continued he, "that so long as you "defile not your hands with the blood of the "saints of God, that neither I, nor my book "shall either hurt you, or your authority; for in "very deed, madam, the book was written a-"gainst that wicked Jezebel (Mary) of Eng-"land."

In 1562, we find him employed in reconciling the earls of Bothwell and Arran; which is an evidence how much he was regarded by the most eminent persons in the kingdom, and how much interest he had with them. The same year, the queen, being informed that her uncles were likely to recover their former interest at the court of France, received the news with great joy. Mr. Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the power of her relations would produce dismal effects, in prejudice of the reformed interest in these parts, thought fit to preach a sermon, wherein he taxed the ignorance, vanity, and despite of princes against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared. This, and other expressions, in reproof of dancing for joy, at the displeasure taken against God's people, coming to the ears of the queen, her ma-

jesty

jesty sent for him, and had a second conference with him.

This year also, he was appointed by the general assembly, commissioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, by his influence, several of the most eminent gentlemen entered into a covenant, which was subscribed on the fourth of September, 1562.

From the shire of Air he went to Nithsdale and Galloway, and had several conferences about matters of great importance with the master of Moxwell; and from this county he wrote to the duke of Chaterault, giving him cautions both against the bishop of St. Andrew's and the earl of Huntley, whose councils he judged might prove obnoxious to the Protestants. About this time he accepted a challenge, made by an eminent person among the Papists, to a public disputation upon the mass, which continued the space of three days, and was afterwards printed.

In the beginning of the queen's first parliament, held in 1563, Mr. Knox endeavoured to excite the earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage to get the protestant religion firmly established by law; but finding him cooler than he expected, a breach ensued between them, which continued for a year and a half: and, after the bill was rejected, the parliament not being dissolved, he preached a sermon before a great many of the members, wherein he expressed his sense of that matter with vehemency: and, at the close, declared his abhorrence of the queen's design of marrying a papist. This gave great offence to the court; and her majesty, sending for him a third time, expressed much passion, and thought to have punished him, but was prevailed upon to desist at that time.

In 1565, lord Darnley being married to the

queen, was adviſed by the Proteſtants about court to hear Mr. Knox preach, as thinking it would contribute much to procure him the good will of the people. Darnley accordingly complied, but was ſo much offended at the ſermon, that he complained to the council, who immediately ordered Mr. Knox before them, and ſilenced him for ſeveral days.

His text indeed was very remarkable, and his application of it ſtill more ſtriking. The words were, "*O Lord our God, other lords, beſides thee, have had dominion over us*;" from which he took occaſion to ſpeak of the government of wicked princes, who for the ſins of the people are ſent as tyrants and ſcourges to plague them, and ſometimes, ſaid he, God ſets over them, for their offences and ingratitude, BOYS and WOMEN.

The general aſſembly, which met in December this year, in their fourth ſeſſion, appointed Mr. Knox to draw up a conſolatory letter in their name, to encourage the miniſters to continue in their vocations, which many were under temptation to leave for want of ſubſiſtence; and to exhort the profeſſors of the realm to ſupply their neceſſities. He was alſo appointed by this aſſembly, to viſit, preach, and plant the kirks of the ſouth. But he requeſted the next general aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh in December, 1566, that he might have leave to go to England to viſit two of his ſons in that kingdom, and alſo to tranſact ſome other buſineſs there. The aſſembly granted his requeſt, but limited his ſtay in England, to their next annual meeting: they then furniſhed him with ample teſtimonials of his life, doctrines, and public uſefulneſs in the miniſtry, and a ſtrong recommendation to all proteſtants. He alſo carried with him a letter from the aſſembly to the biſhops of England,

England, drawn up by himself; complaining of their severe treatment of the English Puritans (Calvinists) and soliciting indulgence for them.

In 1567, Mr. Knox preached a sermon at the coronation of king James VI. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England. This year was very remarkable in Scotland, on account of the great turn of affairs there, queen Mary being obliged to resign the government, on the appointment of the earl of Murray to be regent. The first parliament which was called by the earl met upon the 15th of December. It was a very numerous convention of all the estates, and Mr. Knox preached a very zealous sermon at the opening of it; he was also extremely afflicted at the regent's death in 1569.

In 1571, the Hamiltons and others, who had entered into a combination against the earl of Lenox, then regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a council was held by them in the castle on the fourth of May; where the laird of Grange, captain of the castle, proposed that they might give security for the person of Mr. Knox, which was also much desired by the town's people. The Hamiltons answered, That they could not promise him security upon their honour, because there were many in the town who loved him not, besides other disorderly people that might do him harm without their knowledge.

Upon this answer, which plainly shewed no good intention to Mr. Knox, his friends in the town, with Mr. Craig, his collegue, at their head, entreated him to leave the place; in compliance with their requests, he left Edinburgh on the fifth of May; he went first to Abbotshall in Fife, and thence to St. Andrew's, where he remained till the twenty-third of August 1572.

This year there was a convention of the miniſters at Leith, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of epiſcopacy ſhould be introduced into the church, which was zealouſly oppoſed by our reformer. The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they ſent two of their number to St. Andrew's, to invite Mr. Knox to return to them, and to aſk his advice about the choice of another miniſter to aſſiſt him during the time of the troubles. The ſuperintendant of Lothian was with them, when they preſented the letter; which, when Mr. Knox had peruſed, he conſented to return, upon this condition, that he ſhould not be deſired in any ſort to ceaſe ſpeaking againſt the treaſonable dealings of thoſe who held out the caſtle of Edinburgh; and this he deſired them to ſignify to the whole brethren, leſt they ſhould afterwards repent; and, after his return, he repeated theſe words more than once, to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit: they anſwered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but deſired him to ſpeak according to his conſcience, as in former times. They alſo requeſted his advice upon the choice of a miniſter; and, after ſome debates, they agreed upon Mr. James Lawſon, ſub-principal of the king's college at Aberdeen.

Mr. Knox left St. Andrew's on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, and came to Leith on the twenty-third. Upon the laſt day of that month, he preached in the great kirk; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he deſired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but by an hundred perſons; which was granted: after which Mr. Knox continued to preach in the Tolbooth as long as he had ſtrength; but his health received a great

ſhock from the news of the maſſacre of the proteſtants at Paris, about this time. However, he introduced it into his next ſermon, with his uſual denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he deſired the French ambaſſador, monſieur La Crocque, might be acquainted with. On Sunday, November the ninth, 1572, he admitted Mr. Lawſon to be miniſter of Edinburgh. But his voice was ſo weak, that very few could hear him; he declared the mutual duty between a miniſter and his flock; he praiſed God, that had given them one in his room, he being now unable to teach, and deſired that God might augment his graces to him a thouſand-fold above what he had poſſeſſed, if it were his pleaſure, and ended with pronouncing the bleſſing.

From this time his approaching diſſolution was obſerved with concern by all his friends; an unwearied application to ſtudy, continual agitation in buſineſs, during troubleſome times, joined to the frequency and fervour of his public preaching, had worn out a conſtitution naturally ſtrong, and had brought on a lingering decay; during the courſe of which, he diſcovered the greateſt fortitude and reſignation, conſtantly employing himſelf in acts of devotion, and comforting himſelf with the proſpect of immortality, which not only preſerves good men from deſpondency, but fills them with exultation in their laſt moments; thus in his death, which happened on the 24th of November, 1572, did he ſet a glorious example, as he had done in his life, to thoſe whoſe principal director he had been in the laudable but arduous taſk of reforming them from the errors of ſuperſtition, ignorance and prieſtcraft.

A ſummary of the character of this extraordinary man is ſo admirably drawn up by the maſterly pen of Dr. Robertſon, that we cannot finiſh this article

ticle with greater propriety, than by borrowing it upon ſo juſtifiable an occaſion as the embelliſhment of a work, which in its very nature diſclaims originality, and can only ſtand indebted for its merit, to the judicious introduction of eſtabliſhed authorities, and of the refined ſentiments of celebrated writers.

" Knox was the prime inſtrument of ſpreading and eſtabliſhing the reformed religion in Scotland. Zeal, intrepidity, diſintereſtedneſs, were virtues which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted too with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that ſpecies of eloquence, which is calculated to rouſe and to inflame. His maxims however, were often too ſevere, and the impetuoſity of his temper exceſſive. Rigid and uncomplying himſelf, he ſhewed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. And regardleſs of the diſtinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to reclaim.

Thoſe very qualities, however, which now render his character leſs amiable, fitted him to be the inſtrument of providence for advancing the reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to ſurmount oppoſition, from which a perſon of a more gentle ſpirit would have been apt to ſhrink back."

He was interred with with great ſolemnity in the kirk-yard of St. Giles's, the corpſe being attended by ſeveral of the nobility then in Edinburgh, particularly by the earl of Morton, that day choſen regent, who, as ſoon as he was laid in his grave, ſaid, " There lies a man who never in his life feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dug and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in a ſpecial manner, when his very life was ſought."

Dr.

Dr. Robertson justly observes, that this eulogium is the more honourable, as it came from one whom he had often censured with peculiar severity.

Mr. Knox was an author of considerable repute, for the time in which he lived, but the improvements since made in the systems of divinity render his works less valuable in the present age. They are theological, controversial and historical, comprised in one volume folio, printed at Edinburgh, the fourth edition, 1732. It is intitled, "The History of the Reformation of Religion, in "the Realm of Scotland, &c."

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Mackenzie's lives of the Scotch writers; Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland.

The LIFE of

MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1504, to 1575.]

Including Memoirs of George Browne, and of Hugh Corwin, Archbishops of Dublin.

THE æra of the complete and permanent establishment of the protestant religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland, comprizing the most interesting part of the ecclesiastical history of these kingdoms; it is hoped, the reader's patience will not be put to too severe a trial, by attending to the measures which were taken by queen Elizabeth and the eminent divine she placed at the head of the church of England, to make

make that church, a distinct and permanent part of the constitution of the realm, a privilege it possesses at this time, under the denomination of "Our happy constitution in church and state."

The principal instrument for accomplishing this political union was, Matthew Parker, the son of a reputable citizen of Norwich, born there, in the year 1504. His father died when he was very young, but having ordered by his will, that he should be devoted to the church, his mother sent him at a proper age to Bennet, now Corpus Christi college, Cambridge; where his lively genius improved by assiduous application to those studies which are peculiarly adapted to the sacred function, established his reputation in early life, as a man of uncommon learning for his age; in 1527, he entered into priest's orders, took the degree of master of arts, and was chosen fellow of his college. At this time, a flattering testimony of his conspicuous abilities was given by cardinal Wolsey, who offered him one of the first fellowships in his new college, at Oxford, but for reasons best known to his friends, they advised him to reject this advantageous opportunity of throwing himself under the patronage of that great man; in compliance therefore, with their solicitations, he remained at Cambridge.

In the year 1533, he commenced preacher, and became so popular that his fame reached the ear of Cranmer, who, on enquiry, finding likewise, that his opinions favoured the reformation, sent him a special licence to preach in his diocese, and recommended him to the notice of Henry VIII. The king sent for him to court the same year, and his queen, Ann Boleyn, being highly pleased with a sermon preached before her, in which Parker avowed the principles of the reformed churches abroad, she appointed

appointed him one of her chaplains, placed the greateſt confidence in him ever after, and upon her fatal reverſe of fortune, gave him ſeveral private injunctions reſpecting her daughter the princeſs Elizabeth, the care of whoſe education ſhe particularly directed ſhould be entruſted to him; and thus the baſis was laid of the ſtrong attachment of that princeſs to her learned and pious, ſpiritual guardian.

Mr. Parker's firſt benefice in the church, was the deanry of Stoke in Suffolk, which the king gave him on the queen's ſolicitation in 1534, and from this time, to the death of his royal patroneſs, we meet with nothing remarkable concerning him, except an accuſation brought againſt him by the popiſh party, for expoſing the errors of the Romiſh church with great freedom, in his ſermons at St. Paul's Croſs, but he defended himſelf in a moſt ſatisfactory manner, and was ordered by the lord chancellor Audley, who tried the charge, to perſevere in ſo good a cauſe, regardleſs of the menaces or accuſations of his adverſaries.

King Henry made Mr. Parker one of his chaplains after the fall of Ann Boleyn, and during the remainder of this reign, he continued riſing in the church, and in the univerſity of Cambridge; the degree of doctor in divinity was conferred on him in 1538. In 1544, he was elected maſter of his college, and the following year, vice-chancellor.

Dr. Parker had indulged a ſincere affection for a young lady, of the family of Harſleſtone in Norfolk, and a tender intercourſe had been carried on for ſome years, but the bloody articles, one of which, forbad the marriages of the clergy, being put in force with uncommon rigour, about the time that this connection was formed, the happy union of the

the parties was delayed till the ſtatute was repealed on the acceſſion of Edward VI. when they were married; and it ſhould ſeem by the ſequel, that the papiſts, his avowed enemies, always had their eye upon this expected event. Our divine, during the ſhort reign of Edward, chiefly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a frequent and zealous preacher in ſupport of the reformation, and conſequently could not eſcape the notice of the oppoſite party, to whom he rendered himſelf extremely obnoxious, by the ſhare he had in the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion under Kett, the tanner of Norwich; for Dr. Parker being one of their countrymen, with great intrepidity went to their camp, and preached to the rebels from the oak of reformation, perſuading them to ſubmit to the king, and to return to their families and occupations, which had ſuch an effect that many diſperſed, and their army being conſiderably diminiſhed, became an eaſier conqueſt to the king's forces, commanded by the earl of Warwick, who totally defeated them: this eminent ſervice, however, was performed at the peril of his life, for ſome of the leaders, aware of the conſequences of his ſermon, which cooled the ardour of their men, were for ſacrificing him on the ſpot, but a large party, better pleaſed with his friendly admonitions, conducted him ſafely out of the camp.

It is rather extraordinary, that Parker was not promoted in this reign, in which we do not find that he received any addition to the eccleſiaſtical preferments he enjoyed at the demiſe of Henry: we are told indeed, by Strype, that, "he was nominated to a biſhopric, which he either refuſed, or others ſtepped in before him," but from the reluctance he afterwards ſhewed to accept the higheſt ſtation in the church, it is moſt probable, he

he declined the offer and preferred a private life, especially, as he was perfectly at ease in his circumstances at this period: but queen Mary no sooner ascended the throne, than his inveterate enemies availing themselves of his marriage, made him experience a total reverse of fortune; for he was deprived of all his preferments, and reduced with his wife and two sons, to the necessity of living with the utmost parsimony, and in the greatest privacy and obscurity, often changing their place of abode, to prevent his falling into the hands of the bloody persecutors of the reformed clergy; whose fury, however, he most fortunately escaped by his own vigilance, and the unwearied assiduity of his friends.

At length, he had the happiness to be called forth from his retreat, to new accessions of honour and fortune. Queen Elizabeth embracing the earliest opportunity to reward him for his services and his sufferings in the protestant cause, nominated him soon after she was proclaimed, to fill the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole. Dr. Parker, however, was so far from being elated at this most distinguishing mark of the approbation of his sovereign, that he requested the lord keeper Bacon to use his interest with the queen, to permit him to decline the acceptance of this great honour, alledging amongst other excuses, his bodily infirmities, particularly, a hurt which he had received by a fall from his horse, in flying by night, from some persons who were sent to apprehend him in the late reign; the injury he complained of was the consequence of a contusion on his breast, which made preaching very painful to him, and therefore, in his opinion, disqualified him for the most essential duties of his high station: but the queen persisting in her choice, he was

consecrated

conſecrated at Lambeth in 1559; and it was ſoon perceived, that this appointment was one of the many which manifeſted the great penetration and political genius of the ſovereign: for the archbiſhop being inveſted with full powers to eſtabliſh the proteſtant religion, took a ſpecial care to recommend to the queen, ſuch divines who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their piety, their learning, and their zeal, in promoting the reformation, to fill the vacant ſees; and the other eccleſiaſtical benefices, of which the popiſh prieſts were ſoon after deprived, for not conforming to the new ſtatutes and injunctions concerning religion.

Archbiſhop Parker likewiſe extended his influence and his concern, for the proteſtant intereſt, to the kingdom of Ireland, where religion had ſuffered the ſame revolutions as in England; the reformation having been ſet on foot during the adminiſtration of Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, in the reign of Henry VIII by George Browne, archbiſhop of Dublin, an Engliſhman, and an Auguſtine Friar of London, who was promoted to that ſee by Cromwell's recommendation; this prelate, was the firſt clergyman in Ireland who embraced the reformation; he proceeded in it with ſuch zeal, that he carried the bill for eſtabliſhing Henry's ſupremacy through the parliament of Ireland, at a time, when even the attempt was reckoned dangerous. He alſo removed all images and ſuperſtitious relics from the churches, and was the firſt who ordered the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, to be placed in their ſtead, at the altars; after which, he detected ſome conſpirators who were ſent from Rome, to raiſe a rebellion in Ireland, and to root out hereſy. He continued to exert the ſame active zeal in the reign of Edward, but in the firſt year of Mary, being a married man, he was deprived, and died ſoon after. Popery

pery was then reſtored again in Ireland, but when archbiſhop Parker had ſettled the affairs of the church of England, he ſent over proper inſtructions to Hugh Corwin, archbiſhop of Dublin, for completing the reformation of the church of Ireland, and he was to be ſupported by the earl of Suſſex, newly appointed the queen's lieutenant of that kingdom. Accordingly, the litany was ſung in Engliſh at the cathedral in Dublin, the earl and his court being preſent, which ſo exaſperated the popiſh party, that they had recourſe to the old ſacriligious fraud of inventing a miracle. The particulars of this laſt effort to impoſe on the credulous, are very curious, and therefore, we ſhall give them in the words of Strype, who relates the ſtory, as communicated in a letter from archbiſhop Corwin to archbiſhop Parker.

"There was in the cathedral, an image of Chriſt in marble, ſtanding with a reed in his hand and a crown of thorns on his head; and while ſervice was ſaying before the lord-lieutenant, the archbiſhop, the reſt of the privy council, and the corporation of Dublin, (on the ſecond Sunday of ſinging the Engliſh litany) blood was ſeen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the image. The people did not perceive it at firſt; therefore, ſome who were in the fraud, cried out to one another, and bad them ſee, how our Saviour's image ſweat blood. Whereat ſeveral of the common people fell down with their beads in their hands, and prayed to the image. Vaſt numbers flocked to the ſight, and one preſent, who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of the cathedral, told the people the cauſe, *viz.* that he could not chuſe but ſweat blood, whilſt hereſy was then come into the church. The confuſion hereupon was ſo great, that the aſſembly broke up.

But

But the people ſtill fell upon their knees, thumping their breaſts; and particularly one of the aldermen, the mayor of the city, whoſe name was Sedgrave, and who had been at the Engliſh ſervice, drew forth his beads and prayed with the reſt before the image. The earl of Suſſex, and thoſe of the privy council, haſted out of the choir, fearing ſome harm. But the archbiſhop being diſpleaſed, cauſed a form to be brought out of the choir, and bad the ſexton to ſtand thereon, and to ſearch and waſh the image, and ſee if it would bleed afreſh. The man ſoon perceived the cheat, obſerving a ſponge within the hollow of the image's head. This ſponge, one Leigh, the perſon above mentioned, had ſoaked in a bowl of blood, and, early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the ſaid ſponge ſo ſwoln and heavy with blood, over the head of the image within the crown; and ſo, by little and little, the blood ſoaked through upon the face. The ſponge was preſently brought down and ſhewn to theſe worſhippers; who began to be aſhamed, and ſome of them curſed father Leigh, who was ſoon diſcovered, and three or four others, who had been the contrivers of it." Theſe were expoſed and puniſhed, and the archbiſhop ordered the image to be removed.

Ridiculous as this ſtory muſt appear, it had a very happy effect at the time, in England, for archbiſhop Parker cauſed it to be univerſally circulated, to cool the ardour of thoſe who ſtill retained a veneration for images, a folly which ſeems to have adhered to queen Elizabeth for ſome time after her acceſſion, though many writers impute it to policy. However this be, the ſight of this letter, backed by ſeveral paſſages produced from ſcripture by our proteſtant divines, overcame

overcame her ſcruples, and ſhe conſented to have them taken down throughout the kingdom, and demoliſhed.

But ſtill the great work of fixing the religion of the ſtate on a permanent footing, and as conſonant to the civil polity of the kingdom as poſſible, ſuffered many impediments and obſtructions: not indeed from the Romiſh perſuaſion, who had now loſt all hopes, but the deſperate one of cutting off the ſecular power, that preſumed to countenance and eſtabliſhed hereſy: the oppoſition aroſe from the diſciples of Calvin, and other ſectaries, who though they were proteſtants, objected as much as the papiſts to ſome of the doctrines, and more generally to the worſhip of the church of England, as it was then juſt eſtabliſhed by the act of uniformity. Some of theſe rejected infant baptiſm, and were ſtyled *Anabaptiſts*, others denied the unity of the Godhead in the Trinity, and were called *Arians:* ſome again affirmed, while others denied, the doctrines of *free-will* and *predeſtination*, and adminiſtered the ſacraments in their own manner; theſe likewiſe branched out into many other diſtinctions, and Calvin ſupported their pretenſions to a ſhare in the eccleſiaſtical part of our conſtitution, by writing a polite, but artful letter to archbiſhop Parker, requeſting him to prevail with the queen to call a general aſſembly of all the proteſtant clergy whereſoever diſperſed, that they might agree upon one common form of worſhip and of church government, to be eſtabliſhed not only within her dominions, but alſo among all the reformed and evangelical churches abroad: but the Engliſh exiles who lived abroad, during the reign of Mary, ſome of whom were men of great piety and learning, as well eccleſiaſtics as laics, having already

already shewn great diversity of opinions on this delicate subject; some having contended (as we have noticed in the life of Knox) for the service of the church of England, and others for that of Geneva, the privy-council wisely considering, that the church of England in this its infant state, required some support from spiritual authority, resolved to maintain episcopacy, and this resolution Parker was ordered to transmit to Calvin, thanking him at the same time for his candid offers.

A more effectual method could not be taken to silence Calvin, who was a bitter enemy to any episcopal government of Christ's church: accordingly, he made no farther application to the British court, but he secretly encouraged all the English dissenters from the worship of the church of England; who, upon their separation from that church upon the publication of the act of uniformity, were called *Puritans*, from their laying claim to a purer form of worship and church discipline, in their idea, than that which was now established in England.

Another prejudice still retained by queen Elizabeth, was a strong aversion to the marriages of priests, upon which subject she would certainly have come to a rupture with the archbishop, if Cecil had not compromised matters between them, by getting Parker, who was as tenacious of his opinions as her Majesty, to agree to a royal injunction, that no head or member of any college or cathedral should bring a wife, or any other woman, into the precincts of it, to abide in the same, on pain of forfeiture of all ecclesiastical preferments. It should seem as if the queen and our archbishop had determined to plague each other on the subject of matrimony, for Parker had written a letter to her majesty, exhorting

horting her to enter into that holy ſtate, to which he had procured the ſignature of ſome other prelates, and now upon his application to her, to revoke this injunction, ſhe treated the inſtitution with ſevere ſatire and marked contempt, telling the archbiſhop ſhe repented having made any married men biſhops; which mortified him not a little, and occaſioned his writing a ſharp letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, in which he informed him, that the biſhops were all diſſatisfied with the queen, and that for his part he repented his having accepted the ſtation he now held.

This miſunderſtanding, however, was no ſooner adjuſted, than a religious quarrel of another nature broke out among the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, which threatened an alarming and dangerous ſchiſm, and could not fail of giving cauſe of ſcandal to all well diſpoſed chriſtians: ſince even the biſhops were divided in opinion, and formed themſelves into diſtinct parties.

The queen, in conſequence of a clauſe in the act of uniformity, which impowered her to add any rites and ceremonies ſhe thought proper to the eſtabliſhed church, had enjoined particular eccleſiaſtical habits to be worn by the different orders of the clergy; to theſe regulations ſome implicitly conformed, others rejected part of their dreſs, and not a few the whole, as the relics of popiſh ſuperſtition. Surplices and copes in particular, were ſtrongly objected to; and this difference in opinion had ſuch an effect upon the congregations, that divine ſervice was almoſt deſerted by thoſe who had a prepoſſeſſion in favour of theſe habits, if the prieſt of the pariſh was of a contrary opinion; and the ſame happened in pariſhes where the people abhorred theſe garments, and their paſtors perſiſted in wearing them. In ſhort, as it

happens in all public disputes, which give rise to parties; the infection spread to private families, and caused domestic altercations. And, as the majority of the laity were against these habits, the clergy who wore them were subjected to the insults of the vulgar, who considered them as hypocrites, believing them to be papists at heart, and conformists to the new religion only from worldly motives. This spirit in the people, increased with their aversion to popery, and our archbishop whose advice the queen chiefly followed, was severely censured as the principal author of these disturbances, but neither Parker nor the rest of the prelates in his party made any concession to quiet the minds of the dissatisfied, on the contrary, when the two archbishops were sent for to court, and commanded to restore the peace of the church, they immediately pursued such measures as were calculated to inforce obedience from the clergy, and the laity were totally left out of the question, unless they thought proper to conform to the ordinances now drawn up by Parker and his associates, for due order in preaching and administering the sacraments, and for the apparel of persons ecclesiastical.

In consequence of these regulations, the breach was widened, and has not been closed to this hour: for all the licences for preaching were directly cancelled, and no new ones granted but to such of the clergy as would subscribe to the queen's original injunctions concerning the ecclesiastical habits, and to the ordinances set forth by Parker, containing some articles to which many of the clergy, and a considerable body of the laity could by no means be brought to conform. Among other things, the principal minister was to wear a cope when he administered the sacrament: at prayers they were all to wear surplices,

ſurplices, in the pariſh churches, and in cathedrals, hoods, in which they were to preach: the communion table was to be placed in the eaſt, and no perſon permitted to receive the ſacrament in any other poſture but kneeling. And finally, no perſon was to be ordained, who had not taken degrees at Oxford or Cambridge.

A violent ſchiſm enſued, and ſuch numbers of the clergy reſigned their benefices and cures, that the two univerſities could not ſupply men of tolerable abilities to fill up the vacancies; the biſhops were therefore obliged to procure degrees for, and to ordain many illiterate perſons who had barely the qualifications of common clerks, but whom they found ready to comply with any forms or ceremonies by which they might be inducted to valuable livings.

But among the clergy who refuſed to conform were many perſons of the firſt reputation, for piety, learning, and moral character, for whom the candid and diſintereſted in general, conceived the higheſt veneration, theſe had conſiderable intereſt at court; and they were countenanced by a few of the moderate biſhops, particularly by Jewel, biſhop of Saliſbury, and Pilkington, biſhop of Durham, who, as they had been exiles for their profeſſion of the proteſtant faith in the worſt of times, could not be ſuſpected of want of zeal, and therefore they wrote with great freedom and intrepidity to the earl of Leiceſter, the reigning court favourite, repreſenting that the reformed countries abroad had caſt off popiſh apparel with the pope, that in things, indifferent in themſelves, compulſion ſhould not be uſed, by any means, and that ſo many miniſters were reſolved to leave their livings, rather than comply, that it would be impoſſible to find proper teachers, the realm

being ſcarce of them, and many places entirely deſtitute of any. Leiceſter, already inclined to favour the cauſe of the non-conformiſts, gained over ſeveral other courtiers, and their repreſentations had ſuch an effect on the queen, that ſhe reſolved to withdraw the royal ſanction, and leave the ordinances to the eccleſiaſtical court, which had ſufficient authority over the inferior clergy by the canon law, to inforce obedience if it was judged neceſſary to exert it, and thus the odium of a ſpiritual perſecution againſt the puritans was taken off from the crown, and thrown upon the archbiſhops and their party.

Parker, exaſperated at this meaſure, openly declared, that the queen had ordered him to draw up the injunctions and the ordinances, and reſolved to abide by them; he now publiſhed them under the title of advertiſements, and ſoon gave the clergy to underſtand that he would inforce them with rigour, in the ſpiritual court; for he cited Sampſon dean of Chriſt's church Oxford, and Humphreys preſident of Magdalen college, to appear before him, and other eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, and after trying every perſuaſive argument to induce them to conform, they were menaced with deprivation in caſe of refuſal, and a ſhort time was allowed them to give in their anſwer; this however, they employed in writing an elaborate letter to the commiſſioners in defence of their conduct, and in ſupport of religious liberty: with great coolneſs and judgement they expreſſed their concern, that ſuch a diſſention ſhould ariſe for ſo trifling a ſubject, *propter lanam et linum*; meaning, the ſquare cap, and the ſurplice, and only required the ſame indulgence for their opinions, which they were ready to grant to thoſe, who differed from them. This law, concerning the reſtoring the ceremonies of the church of Rome, they ſaid,

appeared

appeared to them, to be joined with the hazard of ſlavery, neceſſity and ſuperſtition; "But becauſe this does not ſeem ſo to you, you are not to be condemned by us; becauſe this does ſeem ſo to us, we are not to be vexed by you." Theſe and other arguments, equally fraught with the ſpirit of primitive chriſtianity, charity and affection, had no weight with the commiſſioners, who acted under the influence of the archbiſhop, and he was determined to make an example of theſe two divines, who were univerſally eſteemed for their great learning; their zeal in the proteſtant cauſe, and their ſufferings on that account in the reign of queen Mary, being of the number of the unfortunate exiles, who were reduced to great extremities abroad, ſubſiſting ſolely on the charity of the foreign proteſtants. Accordingly, on their ſecond appearance, they were ordered to comply in a peremptory manner by the archbiſhop, and on their refuſal, they were taken into cuſtody, and confined in the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, with a view of terrifying the inferior clergy; but this proceeding not having the deſired effect, they were deprived, and then releaſed.

Soon after, the archbiſhop ordered the whole body of the London clergy to appear before him, and ſome of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners at Lambeth, on a certain day, to ſubſcribe their conformity to the injunctions and ordinances, and having given proper notice of his intention to the court, he requeſted ſecretary Cecil, and ſome of the privy council to be preſent, but he could not obtain their conſent; however, he found means to procure a royal proclamation, requiring uniformity in the habits of the clergy, under pain, upon refuſal, of being ſilenced and deprived.

When the London clergy appeared in court, they were admoniſhed to follow the pious example

of one Thomas Cole; who overcoming his ſcruples, by the force of perſuaſions, had conformed, and being dreſſed in the habits required by the injunctions, was placed in a conſpicuous manner near the commiſſioners. The archbiſhop's chancellor, then addreſſed them in theſe words, as related by Strype, in his life of Grindal, biſhop of London.

"My maſters, and ye miniſters of London! the council's pleaſure is, that ſtrictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like to this man (pointing to Mr. Cole) that is, wear a ſquare cap, and a ſcholar's gown, prieſt like, a tippet, and in the church, a linnen ſurplice, and inviolably obſerve, the rubric of the book of common prayer, and the queen's majeſty's injunctions, and the book of convocation (the thirty-nine articles) ye, that will ſubſcribe, write *Volo*. Thoſe that will not ſubſcribe, write *Nolo*. Be brief, make no words." And when ſome of the clergy offered to ſpeak, he interrupted them, crying, "Peace, peace,—apparitor call over the churches, and ye maſters anſwer preſently *ſub pœna contemptus*, and ſet your names." Of ninety-eight preſent, ſixty-one ſubſcribed, and when the reſt preſented a paper to the archbiſhop, aſſigning their reaſons for refuſing, his grace told them, that it was no part of the duty of the commiſſioners to debate; adding, "he did not doubt, but when they had felt the ſmart of want and poverty, they would comply; for the wood as yet was but green."

It would be a tedious and unſatisfactory taſk to follow the archbiſhop through all his inquiſitorial proceedings againſt the non-conforming clergy, in which he perſiſted to the laſt; nor ſhould we have dwelt ſo long upon this article, if it had not enabled us to trace the origin of the ſubſcriptions required from the clergy to the thirty-nine articles, and

and other canonical ordinances, a ſubject which is become intereſting in our day, by the vigorous but ineffectual applications lately made to parliament for relief, from this act of religious thraldom.

We are likewiſe indebted to this part of our hiſtory, for the riſe of that reſpectable body of diſſenters from the church of England, who have ever ſince approved themſelves the zealous and ſteady friends of the religious and civil liberties of their country.

For, the archbiſhop did not ſtop here; but finding that the books and pamphlets publiſhed by the deprived clergy, who with the diſſenting laity were now ſtyled *Puritans*, were written with manly freedom, and contained unanſwerable arguments in favour of their refuſal to comply with ceremonies retained from the Romiſh church; he complained to the privy council, that the queen's injunctions were diſobeyed, and the ſchiſm in the church increaſed by the publication of heterodox libels. This application to the government produced an order from that arbitrary tribunal the ſtar chamber, prohibiting all books and pamphlets in which any thing was advanced againſt the injunctions, the ordinances, or the eſtabliſhed mode of worſhip of the church of England; the wardens of the ſtationers company were likewiſe empowered to ſearch the bookſellers ſhops and the printing-houſes for ſuch works, and to bring the offenders before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners. Thus was the finiſhing hand put, to a total ſeparation of the conſcientious Puritans, from the new church of England. On the merits of the controverſy no impartial deciſion can be made at this diſtance of time, though ſome hundreds of volumes have been publiſhed on both ſides: But we may venture one remark; that, as the difference aroſe only from external ceremonies, both parties agreeing in the

fundamental doctrines and myſteries of chriſtianity, the extremes to which it was carried, could only be the effect of paſſion, prejudice, and ſelfiſhneſs, which prevails to this hour, and prevents that deſirable union in religion which ought to be the reſult of the extenſion of human knowledge, and of the liberal, refined ſentiments, that prevail all over Europe, with reſpect to all other ſciences but that of divinity.

The archbiſhop's zeal at length carried him beyond the limits of his duty, for he wanted to influence the houſe of commons to ſubmit all matters concerning religion to the biſhops, but two renowned patriots of thoſe days, Mr. Strickland and Mr. Wentworth, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this arbitrary proceeding, in which the queen was impoliticly concerned; and, after very warm debates, the commons were obliged to agree to her majeſty's pretenſions, though by no means well founded, that as ſupreme head of the church, the ordering of all things thereunto belonging, was a branch of her royal prerogative; and Mr. Wentworth, for his freedom of ſpeech in this debate, was ſent to the Tower. The queen then committed this prerogative into the hands of Parker, and the prelates of his party, who not content with requiring ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles, exceeded the penalties preſcribed by law for refuſal. And to crown the whole, the archbiſhop made a perſonal viſitation in the Iſle of Wight, at that time chiefly inhabited by foreign proteſtants of different perſuaſions, who had fled from Romiſh perſecution: it had been the policy of government hitherto to let theſe ſtrangers enjoy religious toleration, eſpecially as there were amongſt them many Calviniſts; but Parker having information, that not a few of the non-conforming clergy had found an aſylum, and an hoſpitable reception in this iſland, he reſolved

ſolved to enforce the act of uniformity there, never thought of before, and upon meeting with almoſt a general refuſal, he deprived the clergy, and ordered the churches to be ſhut up. This intemperate zeal, when it came to be known at court, highly diſpleaſed the queen, who juſtly conſidered, that as this place was reſorted to by mariners of different nations, her reputation would ſoon ſuffer in foreign countries; where theſe proceedings would aſtoniſh the proteſtants, and give the Roman catholics an opportunity of retorting the charge of perſecution upon the church of England. About the ſame time the biſhop of Wincheſter remonſtrated, that the archbiſhop in a viſitation of his dioceſe, had infringed on his privileges, and eſtabliſhed an inquiſitorial power over his clergy. The council upon theſe complaints, declared their diſapprobation of the archbiſhop's conduct, and adviſed her majeſty to order the churches to be opened in the Iſle of Wight, and the miniſters to be reſtored, without ſubſcribing, unleſs they did it voluntarily, which was accordingly done, and when Parker came to court, the queen publicly reprimanded him. But the miſchief was done, the ſpirit of ſuperiority, of eccleſiaſtical pride, and of diſdain for their proteſtant brethren of different perſuaſions, which remains to this hour a reproach to the dignified clergy of the church of England as a body, had diſſeminated itſelf in all parts of the kingdom, never to be eradicated.

Parker could but ill brook any coolneſs from the queen, or her miniſtry, as he always pretended that the warmth of his zeal, was for the advancement of her majeſty's honour, and the ſupport of her royal prerogative, and therefore he retired from court, and wrote a very ſharp letter to Cecil lord

Burleigh, now high treaſurer, and firſt miniſter of ſtate, expreſſing his diſcontent at the oppoſition formed againſt his meaſures, and declaring both the church and the ſtate to be in danger of diſſolution from the countenance given to the Puritans; but he did not long ſurvive this letter, for being ſeverely afflicted with the ſtone, and its common attendant the ſtranguary, he was taken off by a violent fit of the laſt in May 1575.

This prelate however, with all his faults, muſt be conſidered as a principal agent in adding to the luſtre of the reign of Elizabeth, by fixing the proteſtant religion, on ſuch a permanent footing, as left not the leaſt probability of the reſtoration of popery, to which the people, from the natural inconſtancy of their diſpoſitions, ſo readily returned after the death of Edward VI. A circumſtance which will be hereafter enumerated with the reſt of the ſignal advantages obtained for this kingdom, by her prudent and ſucceſsful adminiſtration.

His reputation, as an author, and a uſeful antiquarian, ſtill preſerves his name with veneration in the learned world. He was a diligent reſearcher after Saxon and Britiſh antiquities, he ſpared neither labour nor expence to collect and preſerve the writings of the moſt ancient authors of our own country, and according to Strype, one of his agents only procured for him no leſs than 6700 volumes, in four years. His controverſial works are but few and of ſmall eſtimation, but his folio edition of the Bible in Engliſh, publiſhed by him in 1568, is in high eſtimation: it is called the Biſhop's Bible, becauſe he was aſſiſted in the tranſlation by ſome of the biſhops: it is now very ſcarce, but there is a copy in excellent preſervation at the Britiſh Muſeum, and, by the beſt critics this

this tranſlation is preferred to that which is in common uſe, being the laſt tranſlation made in the reign of James I. and by that Prince ordered to be uſed in all churches inſtead of Parker's, or the biſhop's bible. The archbiſhop likewiſe publiſhed editions of four of our ancient Engliſh hiſtorians; Matthew of Weſtminſter, Matthew Paris, Aſſer's Life of Alfred, and Thomas Walſingham's hiſtory from Edward I. to Henry V. with his account of Normandy. To theſe we may add the lives of his predeceſſors the archbiſhops of Canterbury, the joint labour of Parker and Joceline one of his chaplains. The beſt edition of this work is that by Dr. Samuel Drake, London, 1729.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Matthew Parker by Strype, M. A. Neale's Hiſtory of the Puritans. Warner's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England. Sir James Ware's Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Ireland. Stow's Chronicle.

THE LIFE OF

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM,

Merchant and Citizen of LONDON.

[A.D. 1519, to 1579.]

THE Revolutions in the commercial affairs of Europe, form as ſtriking a picture of the glorious age of Elizabeth as thoſe of religion, with which they were at this period intimately connected,

ed, and perhaps, there is not to be found in the hiſtory of any nation ſuch a concurrence of happy events as thoſe, which at almoſt one and the ſame inſtant, contributed to inſure the proſperity of England, and to fix the renown of its ſovereign during this glorious æra.

It is impoſſible to illuſtrate the truth of theſe hiſtorical remarks, in more preciſe terms than thoſe of the celebrated Voltaire, in his univerſal hiſtory; and as he makes honourable mention of the eminent citizen and patriot, to whoſe life they are applied, the reader cannot be preſented with a more beautiful and apt introduction.

" From the firſt beginning of Elizabeth's reign, " the Engliſh applied themſelves to manufactures: " the Flemings being perſecuted by Philip II. " king of Spain, (who permitted his governor of " the low countries, now the Auſtrian Nether- " lands, to exerciſe every act of cruelty for the " extirpation of hereſy) removed to London, " bringing with them an increaſe of inhabitants, " induſtry and riches. This capital, which en- " joyed the bleſſings of peace under Elizabeth, " cultivated likewiſe the liberal arts, which are " the badges and conſequences of plenty. Lon- " don was enlarged, civilized, and embelliſhed; " and, in a ſhort time, one half of the little " iſland of Great Britain, was able to counterba- " lance the whole power of Spain. The Engliſh " now figured as the ſecond nation in the world " in induſtry, as in liberty they were the firſt; " and a private merchant in London, was rich " enough to build the Royal Exchange, and to " found and endow a college for the education of " the children of his fellow citizens."

By what means England attained this acceſſion of national power, ſplendor, and riches, will be developed in the life of this illuſtrious citizen,

tizen, and of thoſe great ſtateſmen, warriors and navigators, who by their ſignal ſervices in their different ſtations of life, at once immortalized their own reputations, and aggrandiſed their native country.

Mr. Thomas Greſham was the deſcendant of an ancient family, who, according to Camden, took their name from a town ſo called in Norfolk, and this family had produced ſeveral eminent men in the earlier periods of the Britiſh hiſtory, nor was the father of this gentleman, Sir Richard Greſham, of leſs note than his anceſtors: for being fortunate in the buſineſs of a mercer, and enabled to purchaſe conſiderable eſtates, he became ſheriff of London in 1531, and recommended himſelf to Henry VIII. who conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and made him his principal agent for the negociation of his mercantile concerns and loans at Antwerp, during his wars with France, and he was afterwards mayor; but Sir Richard is ſtill more memorable as a citizen, for obtaining the privilege for private merchants to be bankers, and to negociate bills of exchange without applying for a ſpecial licence, which was before required; and as this privilege was firſt exerciſed by merchants reſiding in Lombard-ſtreet, this made that ſituation ſo well known afterwards for this buſineſs, and here it was that Sir Richard propoſed to build a bourſe or exchange, but this honour however, was reſerved for his ſon Thomas; but he purchaſed the chapel of St. Thomas of Acres now Mercer's chapel for that company. It is obſervable, that at this period and long after, no perſon could belong to any other company but that of the trade he followed, which bred an attachment, friendſhip and ſociety among citizens of the ſame trade, and occaſioned valuable

gifts

gifts and legacies to the ſeveral companies from their reſpective members; whereas at preſent, one of the principal uſes of ſuch companies is deſtroyed, for a fiſhmonger by trade, may be a clothworker in his corporate capacity; a lawyer a goldſmith, and a peer a ſadler, to the deſtruction of all order, and of the original deſign of inſtituting ſuch fraternities.

Sir Richard Greſham had two ſons, the eldeſt, John Greſham, was an eminent citizen in the reign of Edward VI. and though bred to his father's buſineſs, accompanied the protector Somerſet, in his expedition to Scotland, and was knighted by the duke on the ſpot, after the victory he obtained over the Scots in Muſſleborough field in 1547; he died in the reign of queen Mary in 1560. The youngeſt ſon, our famous merchant, was born at London in 1519, and for ſome particular view as we imagine, was bound apprentice to a mercer when he was very young, but he certainly did not follow the buſineſs as an apprentice, for we find him paſſing ſome years in his ſtudies at Caius college, under the celebrated founder Dr. Caius, who in commendation of his application and proficiency, ſtyled him *Doctiſſimus Mercator*, the very learned merchant. However, the profits of trade were then ſo great and ſuch large eſtates had been raiſed by it in his own family, that he alſo engaged in it, and was made free of the mercers company in 1543. It is ſuppoſed, that Mr. Greſham married about this time, the daughter of William Fernley of Suffolk, relict of William Reade, Eſq; of Middleſex, for he had a ſon named Richard, in honour of his grandfather, born ſome time before the death of Sir Richard, which happened in 1548.

Sir William Danſell ſucceeded Mr. Greſham's father as the king's agent at Antwerp, but by his bad manage-

management, instead of supplying the king with money, he brought him so considerably in debt, that the merchants at Antwerp would not make any further advances, which greatly embarrassed the king's affairs at home, and occasioned a letter of recall, which Dansell refused to obey; hereupon our merchant was sent for by the council, and his opinion required by what means his majesty might best be enabled to discharge the debt, amounting to 260,000 *l.* or put it in such a state of liquidation and security, that his loans might go on in the usual channel at Antwerp. His sentiments upon this point, must have been very satisfactory, for without any request on his part, he was appointed agent, and removed with his family to Antwerp in 1551, where he soon found himself involved in very troublesome and uneasy circumstances; but his fertile genius enabled him to extricate himself with great honour. The money that had been borrowed by the late agent for the king's use, not being repaid at the stipulated times, he found himself under a necessity to procure an additional term of prolongation, but this the avaritious Flemings would by no means agree to, unless his majesty would purchase jewels, or some other rich commodities, to a considerable amount, on which they might gain immense profits, besides the interest, at that time rated at 16 *per cent.* on the value, till paid for.

And it deserves the reader's notice, that the principal commerce of Antwerp at this early period, consisted in the importation of diamonds, pearls and other precious stones, and of wool; together with the negociation of loans of money and exchanges. The persecution of the duke of Alva, drove the manufacturers, and the merchants trafficking in bulky commodities, most liable to seizure and confiscation, from this ancient mart of com-

commerce, but many of the diamond merchants, and money agents remained, whose descendants have preserved this city from a total decline, by keeping alive the two branches of the diamond trade, and negociating bills of exchange, for both of which, Antwerp is at this day famous, being the cheapest European market for jewels, and so remarkable, with respect to exchanges, that a well known merchant, or gentleman, either native or foreigner, may get a bill discounted, drawn on the remotest part of the habitable globe.

Mr. Gresham did not judge it compatible, either with the king's honour, or his own credit as his agent, to comply with the venal proposals of the Flemings, he therefore peremptorily rejected them, and transmitted a plan to England for discharging the king's debts at Antwerp in two years. He proposed that the council should immediately remit about 1300 *l.* to a friend in their interest with the utmost privacy, and he would make such a discretional use of this sum thus thrown into the market as to prevent the artful fall of the exchange with England. The council approved his design and remitted the money, with which small sum he contrived to take up 200 *l.* every week upon his own credit, on bills of exchange drawn at double usance on England, and thus he gained time, and negociated 72,000 *l.* in one year. In addition to this scheme, he proposed, that the king should take the commerce of the lead mines with Antwerp, into his own hands, and issue a proclamation, forbidding the exportation of this article, except on the king's account for five years. This measure being taken had the desired effect, the king's agents engrossed the lead, which caused the price to rise considerably at the Flemish markets, and at the enhanced value, they supplied Antwerp discretionally; so that by these two mercantile stratagems

gems the balance was turned in favour of England, and the king's debts honourably diſcharged within the term propoſed by Mr. Greſham. And the credit of the crown of England, which before his time, was conſidered by the Flemiſh merchants as very ſlender, roſe to ſuch a height of reputation, that Mr. Greſham could borrow what ſums he thought proper, on equitable terms, either on his maſter's, or his own private credit.

The demiſe of king Edward, retarded for a time, the honours due to this great man for his eminent ſervices, for upon the acceſſion of queen Mary, he was recalled, but he had been enabled to live very comfortably as a private gentleman by the munificence of his royal maſter, who, beſides lands, to the yearly value of 300 *l.* ſettled a penſion of 100 *l.* on him and his heirs for ever, about three weeks before he died, making uſe of theſe words, among other honourable expreſſions in the patent, "You ſhall know that you have ſerved a king."

However, his friends importuned him, to preſent a memorial to the queen, ſtating the ſignal ſervices performed by his father and himſelf to the crown in their public characters, often at the riſk of their lives and fortunes, and making particular mention of a heavy loſs ſuſtained by our merchant on his return to England, the veſſel in which his houſhold furniture, plate, and the wearing apparel of himſelf and his lady was embarked being ſhipwrecked, and not one article ſaved, yet no indemnification had been given him for a misfortune incurred, while he was employed in the public ſervice. It appears, that this memorial procured him the reſtoration of his former employ, and other commiſſions from the queen, for the management of her affairs in the Low-countries, which are inſerted in the 15th volume of *Rymer's Fœdera*. When queen Elizabeth ſucceeded to the crown,

crown, he was one of the firſt of her loyal citizens taken into favour; ſhe employed him ſoon after her acceſſion to buy up, and furniſh the royal arſenals with arms; and the year following, her majeſty conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and appointed him her agent in foreign parts. Being now in the higheſt eſteem with his fellow citizens and in great credit at court, he thought proper to fix his reſidence in the city, and to live there in a manner ſuitable to his rank and fortune: for this purpoſe, ſays *Stow*, "he built "that large and ſumptuous houſe for his own "dwelling on the weſt ſide of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, which, after the demiſe of his lady, was converted into a college, purſuant to his will, called Greſham college, and has ſince been pulled down, being in a ruinous condition, to build the New Exciſe Office. Here he maintained a poſt becoming his character and ſtation."

But the joy which proſperity naturally inſpires, was checked by a family misfortune about this time, by the ſickneſs and death of Richard Greſham his only ſon, who died in 1564.

The merchants of London ſtill continuing to meet in Lombard-ſtreet in the open air, expoſed to the inclemencies of the weather, Sir Thomas reſolved to revive his father's plan of building for them a commodious bourſe, on the plan of the bourſe at Antwerp. With this view he generouſly propoſed to his fellow citizens, to erect this public edifice at his own expence, if the corporation would aſſign over to him a proper ſpot of ground, ſufficiently ſpacious, to render it both uſeful and convenient. Such an inſtance of urbanity is but rarely to be met with, and therefore the city moſt readily and gratefully accepted this offer, in conſequence of which they purchaſed eighty houſes in Cornhill, ſituated in the three allies, then called, Swan's,

Swan's, New, and St. Chriſtopher's allies, for which the corporation paid to the ſeveral owners, in the year 1566, the ſum of 3532 *l.* and immediately ſold the houſes under contract, to pull them down and remove the materials in three months, for the trifling ſum of 478 *l.* This done, the ground plot was laid out at the expence of the city, and poſſeſſion given to Sir Thomas, who in the deed of aſſignment, is ſtyled "Agent to the "queen's highneſs;" and on the 7th of June, 1567, the founder laid the firſt ſtone of the edifice, accompanied by ſome of the aldermen, who laid eight pieces of gold upon the bricks for the workmen, and after this ceremony was over, they ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſing their gratitude, for they proceeded on the building with ſuch amazing diligence and diſpatch, that in November the roof was covered in, and the timber work, which had been framed and fitted for putting up at Batisford near Ipſwich, was completed ſoon after.

The plan of this bourſe, or exchange, was an oblong ſquare, with piazzas on the north and ſouth ſides, ſupported by ten pillars of marble on each ſide; and thoſe on the eaſt and weſt ends were ſupported by ſeven pillars on each ſide: under theſe piazzas, ſhops, to the number of 120, were neatly fitted up, which were lett by Sir Thomas, upon an average at 4 *l.* 10 *s.* *per annum.* Other ſhops were fitted up at firſt in the vaults under ground, but the darkneſs and damp rendered them ſo unwholeſome and inconvenient, that they were very ſoon removed, and the vaults lett for ſuitable uſes. Upon four pinnacles at each corner of the roof was placed a graſhopper, the creſt of the arms of the Greſham family; and in honour of Sir Thomas, a very large graſhopper was placed on the turret of the new Royal Exchange, which

ſerves

ſerves likewiſe as a vane. The old building was burnt in the great fire of 1666, and the preſent noble ſtructure was erected at the joint expence of the city and of the mercers company. It coſt 80,000*l.* and was finiſhed in the year 1670.

Sir Thomas Greſham's exchange was entirely completed, and the ſhops opened in 1569, and in January, 1570, queen Elizabeth, attended by her nobility, came from Somerſet-houſe, and paſſing by Temple Bar, through Fleet-ſtreet, Cheap, and the north ſide of the new bourſe, to Sir Thomas's houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, dined there, and after dinner, returning through Cornhill, entered the bourſe on the ſouth ſide, and having viewed every part thereof above ground, eſpecially the Pawn, (the ranges of ſhops) which was richly furniſhed with all ſorts of the fineſt wares in the city, ſhe cauſed the bourſe, by a trumpet and a herald, to be proclaimed the ROYAL EXCHANGE, and ſo to be called from thence forth, and not otherwiſe. A ridiculous tradition is handed down to this time, founded on no hiſtorical evidence whatever, that in honour of his royal viſitor, and in proof of his great wealth, Sir Thomas Greſham, ordered a pearl of immenſe value to be reduced to powder, and thrown into a glaſs of wine, which he drank to the queen's health. It ſeems to have been only a poetical licence, taken from an hiſtorical play, in two acts, compoſed to compliment the queen upon two great events in her reign; the building of the Royal Exchange, and the deſtruction of the Spaniſh Armada. The lines in the drama are—

Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes.
Inſtead of ſugar, Greſham drinks this pearl,
Unto his queen and miſtreſs: pledge it lords.

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The judicious critic will likewiſe reflect, that Greſham's fortune had ſuffered in the reign of queen Mary, it is therefore highly improbable, that in the courſe of twelve years, in the infancy of the Britiſh commerce, he ſhould have gained ſuch immenſe wealth, as to enable him to commit ſuch an act of idle extravagance.

But the ſituation of public affairs, from the time of his forming a deſign of building an exchange, to the date of its completion, totally diſcredits this fable; for in this interval Sir Thomas Greſham had been ſent to Antwerp to borrow about 8000 *l.* ſterling, and to procure further time for the payment of two old debts of the crown, amounting together to about 22,000 *l.* ſterling: this buſineſs he ſucceſsfully negotiated in 1566; and by this time fully convinced that her Majeſty might borrow money of her own ſubjects, on more advantageous terms, than thoſe required by the Flemings, he preſented a memorial to the miniſtry upon this ſubject, on his return from Flanders; but this ſalutary advice was not followed till the year 1569, when the rupture between England and Spain abſolutely forced adminiſtration into a meaſure, which ſound policy and domeſtic œconomy ſhould have induced them to have adopted much earlier.

The duke of Alva, by order of Philip II. king of Spain, prohibited all commerce in Flanders with the Engliſh; upon which, our merchants and factors left Antwep, and retired to Hamburgh; and Cecil, the ſecretary of ſtate, and lord treaſurer, apprehenſive that the merchants would not have money ſufficient to carry on their trade at their new ſettlement, where their credit was not yet eſtabliſhed, and conſequently that the import duties at home, eſpecially on woollen cloths, would fall ſhort, the queen's

queen's only resource for discharging her foreign debts, communicated his sentiments, in this embarrassed situation, to Sir Thomas Gresham; who, being well acquainted with the circumstances of the English merchants at Hamburgh, and the state of their commercial transactions, dispelled the minister's fears, by assuring him, that if the queen could contrive to pay the London merchants the first payment, being one half of her debt to them, they would thereby be enabled to make such remittances to Hamburgh, as would firmly establish the credit of the English merchants settled there; and before the second payment, enable them to ship from thence for England, commodities to the amount of 100,000*l.* which, with the exports for Hamburgh then ready to be shipped and estimated at 200,000*l.* would produce duties to the amount of 10,000*l.* and remove every doubt of the queen's ability to pay her creditors.

Sir Thomas further added, that the demand for English commodities was so great, that the merchants at Hamburgh would have plenty of money, as well as full credit to obtain any quantity of foreign commodities for England, after they had received the merchandize now shipping from London; but in the mean time, lest these should be retarded by any unforeseen accident, he advised Cecil to remit money to Hamburgh, to enable them to fulfill the contracts they had made for goods sent to England on their first settlement, before they could receive any returns: this being done, the credit of the queen and the English merchants was in such high repute, that the duke of Alva, who foresaw his own ruin, in that of the Flemish commerce, "quaked for fear." The persecution set on foot by the duke of Alva has been already noticed; but besides this scourge, he laid a heavy imposition on commerce,

commerce, demanding the tenth penny upon the value of all goods brought into the Low-countries for ſale, which completed the ruin of the commerce of thoſe countries, and removed it to Amſterdam, Hamburgh, and London. The prudent meaſure of procuring loans from her own ſubjects for the public ſervice, was next carried into execution; but the laudable project received a conſiderable check at firſt from the corporation of Merchants Adventurers, who, at a general court rejected the queen's demand of a loan, which the queen highly reſented, in a letter written by Cecil to the company at her expreſs command; however, the ſum being only 16,000*l.* was obtained through Greſham's intereſt in the city from ſome of the aldermen, and other merchants, at *ſix per cent.* for ſix months; and at the expiration of that term, a prolongation was readily agreed to. This happened in the year 1572, and is a revolution in the finance operations of government, which adds another wreath of fame to the annals of this reign.

To remedy the ſcarcity of ſilver coin, which obſtructed inland trade, our patriotic merchant, ever zealous in the ſervice of his country, knowing that one Reggio, an Italian merchant, had lodged thirty thouſand Flemiſh ducatoons in the Tower for ſecurity, and that he had likewiſe a conſiderable quantity of the ſame pieces in the hands of private friends in London, adviſed the queen to purchaſe them of Reggio, and to coin them into Engliſh ſhillings and ſixpences, by which ſhe would gain three or four thouſand pounds, and keep all this fine ſilver in her realm: (many of theſe ſhillings and ſixpences are ſtill to be met with in the cabinets of the curious in high preſervation) the ducatoons were accordingly purchaſed of the Italian, and the queen borrowed the amount of the London merchants for

two

two years, at moderate intereſt. At the ſame time Sir Thomas ſent five ſacks of new Spaniſh ryals, his own property, to the Mint; and this example encouraged others, ſo that when the new coinage was iſſued, ſilver currency became very plentiful at home, and the greateſt part of the queen's debts in Flanders were paid with it; the reſidue being ſoon after remitted in bills of exchange on Hamburgh, to the great honour of the queen, and the further advancement of the commercial credit of the kingdom in foreign countries.

Theſe wiſe regulations of courſe, aboliſhed the office of queen's agent for money matters in foreign parts; but the queen, to ſhew her high regard for Sir Thomas Greſham, and that he might not loſe the dignity of a public character in the city, put him into the commiſſion with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of London, and ſome lords of the council, who, in this reign, were uſually appointed aſſiſtants to the Lord Mayor in the government of the city, during the queen's ſummer progreſſes through the kingdom. This honour he held as occaſion required, from 1572 to 1578.

Sir Thomas Greſham's active life would not permit him to be long abſent from the buſtle of the mercantile world; he loved to viſit his favourite exchange, and to aſſociate with merchants: upon which account, he would not retire to any of the conſiderable eſtates he had purchaſed in the remoter counties, but built a magnificent ſeat at Oſterley Park, near Brentford in Middleſex.

Here he indulged himſelf with ſhort intervals of relaxation, but his mind was always ſo full of plans for the public good, and the promotion of uſeful induſtry, that even here he mixed utility with recreation, and made buſineſs part of his amuſement:

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for within his park, he erected paper, oil, and corn mills, thus finding constant employment of various sorts of workmen, who were constantly devoted to his service, he being likewise a liberal master, the wonderful part of the following anecdote falls to the ground; and it appears highly probable, though we have but slender authority to support the fact as it is related by Fuller in his Worthies of Middlesex. According to him, "Queen Elizabeth, having been once very magnificently entertained and lodged at Osterley Park, she found fault with the court before it, as being too large, and said it would appear better, if divided by a wall in the middle: he took the hint, and sent for workmen from London," (rather from Brentford) "who in the night built up the wall with such privacy and expedition, that the next morning the queen, to her great surprise, found the court divided, in the manner she had proposed the day before."

The greatest part of the very ample fortune which Sir Thomas Gresham had acquired by his close application to, and consummate skill in mercantile transactions, he now resolved to devote to the benefit of his fellow-citizens, and their children's children, having no legitimate heir to inherit it after his decease. He had indeed a natural daughter, by a Flemish woman, while he resided at Bruges in Flanders; but having given her in marriage to Nathaniel Bacon, the second son of the lord keeper of the great seal, with a portion suitable to his own circumstances, and the rank of the gentleman who had married her, he thought himself free from all family claims, after he had made a comfortable provision for his lady, in case she survived him. Accordingly, he made no secret of his laudable design, to have his mansion-house (as it was then called) converted into a college, for the profession of the seven liberal sciences, and to endow it with the

revenues of the Royal Exchange, after his own and his lady's deceaſe. As ſoon as this was known, the univerſity of Cambridge, at which place he had been educated, ordered their public orator, Mr. Richard Bridgewater, to write him an elegant Latin letter, reminding him of a promiſe he had formerly made (as the univerſity were informed) to give them 500*l.* either towards building a new college, or repairing an old one at Cambridge, for the ſame purpoſes. This letter was expedited the beginning of March, 1575; and before the end of the month they wrote him another, acquainting him, that they had heard, he had poſitively declared his intention of founding a college to Lady Burleigh; and as there were but three convenient ſituations, in their opinion, for ſuch a foundation, London, Oxford, and Cambridge, they hoped a ſuperior regard for Cambridge would determine him to give that univerſity the preference. At the ſame time, they wrote to Lady Burleigh, requeſting her intereſt with him upon this occaſion. But theſe letters failed of the deſired effect, owing to very juſt and prudent cauſes. London, at this time, had no ſimilar inſtitution, and the want of liberal education made the principal merchants, obſtinate and tenacious of every idle prejudice adopted from cuſtom. This Sir Thomas had experienced, in the trouble they had given him, by oppoſing his very rational plan of eſtabliſhing a reciprocal union of intereſts and attachment between them and the government, by ſupplying the public loans inſtead of foreigners. Another motive, undoubtedly, was that immortal fame, which every public ſpirited, every good citizen ſhould have in view, whereby, as he was venerated while living, ſo, in after ages, his memory might be gratefully preſerved, in that community of which he was a reſpectable member.

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Perſiſting therefore, in the reſolution of fixing the college in his dwelling-houſe, he executed a deed of ſettlement, dated May 20, 1575, diſpoſing of his ſeveral manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with ſuch limitations and reſtrictions, particularly as to the Royal Exchange, and his houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, as might beſt ſecure his views with reſpect to the purpoſes for which they were intended. This deed, which was an indenture quadripartite, was ſucceeded by two wills, the one bearing date July 4, and the other the following day, of the ſame year: by the firſt, he bequeaths to his wife, whom he appoints his ſole executrix, all his perſonal eſtate, conſiſting of caſh, plate, jewels, chains of gold, and flocks of ſheep, with other cattle; except ſeveral legacies to his relations, friends, and ſervants, amounting to upwards of 2000*l.* and a few ſmall annuities. By the ſecond, he gives one moiety of the Royal Exchange to the mayor and commonalty of the city of London, and the other to the Mercer's company, for the ſalaries of ſeven profeſſors, one for each of the liberal ſciences, to be choſen by them, "being meet and ſufficiently learned," to read public lectures in divinity, law, phyſic, aſtronomy, geometry, muſic, and rhetoric, for which they are to receive a ſalary of 50*l. per annum*, and to be provided with apartments for their reſidence, in his ſaid manſion-houſe. He likewiſe bequeaths 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly, to be divided equally between eight poor perſons, inhabiting the like number of alms-houſes built by him, behind his houſe. Alſo 10*l. per annum* to the priſons of Newgate, Ludgate, the King's-bench, the Marſhalſea, and the two Compters; with the like annuity to the hoſpitals of Chriſt, St. Bartholomew, Bedlam, and St. Thomas. Alſo 100*l.* annually, to provide a dinner for the whole company of Mercers in their hall, on every quarter-day, at 25*l.* for each dinner.

Theſe diſpoſitions were made conformable to the produce of the rents of the Royal Exchange, and the fines for alienations which exceeded at the time, the annual payments appointed by the will, ſo that the two corporations had more than ſufficient inveſtments for the truſts they were to execute. But as the lady Anne, his wife, was to enjoy the manſion, and the rents of the Royal Exchange for her life, in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, they were both veſted (after her deceaſe) in the two corporations for the term of fifty years; which limitation was made on account of the ſtatutes of *Mortmain*, prohibiting the alienation of lands or tenements to any corporation, without licence firſt obtained from the crown; the procuring of which, the teſtator not only recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms, but by a prudential clauſe, in ſome meaſure ſecured; for the eſtates were to revert to his heirs at law, if no licence was obtained within the time limited. The two corporations however, in conformity to the conditions of their truſt, applied for a patent, which was granted to them by James I. in the year 1614, to hold the bequeathed eſtates for ever, for the uſes declared in the will.

His worldly concerns being thus adjuſted in a manner that could not but afford him much ſecret ſatisfaction, and the moſt pleaſing reflections, it is moſt probable that he lived a retired life, enjoying the happy tranquillity, which affluence acquired by honeſt induſtry, and peace of mind, the reſult of pious and benevolent actions always afford, for no particular memoirs of the four laſt years of his life are handed down to us; all the account we have of him, after the year 1575, is, that on the 29th of November, 1579, this great and good man was taken off in an apoplectic fit: Hollingſhed ſays, "that coming," (or, more properly, being come) "from the Royal Exchange to his houſe in Biſhopſ-

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gate-ſtreet, he ſuddenly fell down in the kitchen, and being taken up was found ſpeechleſs, and preſently died."

By his death, many large eſtates in ſeveral counties of England, amounting to the yearly value of 2388*l.* an amazing income, in thoſe days, devolved to his lady for her life; and as ſhe ſurvived him many years, this accounts for the late date of the patent to the corporations, Lady Greſham reſiding in winter at the manſion-houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and in ſummer at Oſterley Park.

His obſequies were performed in a public and ſolemn manner, and his charitable works followed him to his very grave; for he had ordered by his will, that his corpſe ſhould be attended by one hundred poor men, and the ſame number of poor women cloathed in black cloth gowns, at his expence. His remains were depoſited at the north-eaſt corner of St. Helens, his pariſh church, in a vault which he had long ſince provided for himſelf and family. The funeral charges amounted to 800*l.* Over the vault is a large, curious marble tomb, on the ſouth and weſt ſides of which are his own arms, and on the north and eaſt, the ſame empaled with thoſe of his lady; the arms of Sir Thomas, with thoſe of the city of London, and of the Mercer's company, are likewiſe painted on glaſs, in the eaſt-window of the church, above the tomb, which remained without any inſcription upon it till the year 1736, when for the information of the curious, the following words, taken from the pariſh regiſter, were cut on the ſtone that covers it. *Sir Thomas Greſham, Knight, was buried* December 15, 1579.

To the copious account already given of the principal events in the life of this generous citizen, we have only to add, from Ward's ſummary of his character, the following particulars. He was well

acquainted with the ancient and ſeveral modern languages, and he was a liberal patron to learned men, both natives and foreigners, which is acknowledged in the dedications of their works to him, by different authors, particularly by John Fox, the celebrated martyrologiſt; Hugh Goughe, writer of the hiſtory of the Ottoman Turks, &c. He tranſacted queen Elizabeth's affairs ſo conſtantly, that he was commonly called, "The Royal Merchant." And he had the very ſignal honour, upon many occaſions, to be appointed to receive foreign princes on their firſt arrival in England, and to entertain them at his houſe, till they were preſented at court. In fine, having no ſon to keep up his name, he took the moſt effectual method to perpetuate it, in the higheſt degree of grateful veneration, as long as the city of London exiſts as a corporation.

*** *Authorities.* Camden's Britan. edit. 1720. Journal of Edw. VI. of his own writing in the Coton. library at the Muſeum. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. 15. Ward's life of Greſham.

The

The LIFE of

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL of LEICESTER.

[A. D. 1532, to 1588.]

Including Memoirs of Sir Philip Sydney, and Sir Robert Dudley.

SOME mention has already been made of this gentleman, in the life of the duke of Northumberland, Vol. I. p. 170. It is therefore only neceſſary to add, as to the juvenile part of his life, that he was the duke's fifth ſon, by Jane, the daughter and heireſs of Sir Edward Guilford. The exact time of his birth is not recorded, but it is ſuppoſed to have been in the year 1532; and in the year 1550, he was married to Amy, the daughter of Sir John Robart, when, as a compliment to his father, the king was preſent at the nuptials; and it is remarkable, that from early youth to the laſt hour of his life, he was a ſucceſsful courtier. Upon the king's death, he engaged with his father, in ſupport of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown, and attended upon him in his expedition into Norfolk; but upon the duke's being arreſted at Cambridge,

he fled to queen Mary's camp, and surrendered; from whence he was brought up prisoner to London, and confined in the Tower, on the twenty-sixth of July 1553, and on the fifteenth of January following, was arraigned of high treason at the Guild-hall of London, confessed the indictment, and was adjudged by the earl of Sussex to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. But the lords interceding for him with the queen, she restored him and his brethren, (except the lord Guilford) in blood, received him into favour, and made him master of the English ordnance at the siege of St. Quintin, in 1557.

As soon as queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, she advanced him to one of the highest posts of honour near her person, making him her master of the horse, and in the second year of her reign, to the great surprize of his rival courtiers, her Majesty advanced him to the dignity of privy counsellor, and honoured him with the noble order of the garter.

Encouraged by these favours, he gave into the opinion, that, if he could get rid of his wife, he need not despair of soon rendering himself personally agreeable to her Majesty. The lady was dispatched into the country, to the house of one of his dependants, where, it is said, he first attempted to have taken her off by poison; but, failing in this design, he caused her to be thrown down from the top of a stair-case, and murdered by the fall. She was at first obscurely buried, but that having given occasion to censure, he ordered her body to be taken up, and she was interred again in St. Mary's church at Oxford, with all imaginable pomp and solemnity.

Ambition and lust were the ruling passions of Dudley; and his personal accomplishments, derived both from nature and polite education, inspired him with consummate vanity: nor must Elizabeth pass uncen-

uncenſured, for it appears, that even before the death of his wife, ſhe exceeded the bounds of female decorum in her conduct towards him, inſomuch, that at foreign courts her reputation was but ſlightly treated, and her ambaſſadors complained of it, in their diſpatches to the miniſtry at home. But after this tragical event, it was obſerved that he met with a more favourable reception than ever from the queen; and though ſhe did not openly countenance his pretenſions of marriage, yet ſhe ſeemed not at all diſpleaſed with the overture; and when her marriage with him was moved by the French ambaſſador, ſhe only objected that he was not of the royal blood, nor could ſhe think of raiſing a dependant to the rank of a companion. But envy and hatred are the ſure attendants upon greatneſs, and Dudley, by being thus diſtinguiſhed above the reſt in her Majeſty's favour, drew upon himſelf the odium of the courtiers: and, it is poſſible, that about this time, the hiſtory of Reynard the Fox, now in the hands of every child, was written, as a ſatire againſt his lordſhip.

Yet it muſt be noticed, in juſtice to the queen's political character, that notwithſtanding her blameable partiality to him as a favourite, which ſometimes gave him a prevailing intereſt at the council-board, ſhe never confided to him the general adminiſtration of affairs; and this may be accounted for, by admitting that Cecil's great abilities as a ſtateſman, enabled him to undermine the voluptuous Dudley, whoſe ſenſuality checked the progreſs of his ambition. Yet his ſkilful antagoniſt, that he might ſeem to gratify him even in this paſſion, while he was attempting either his removal from court, or a diminution of his influence, ſuggeſted to her Majeſty the propriety of a match between Dudley and Mary queen of Scots, then about to form a foreign alliance, which muſt be prejudicial

to England. The crown of Scotland in poſſeſſion, and the right of inheritance to the crown of England, were moſt alluring baits; and Cecil knew, that ſhould he be over-earneſt in the purſuit of the match propoſed, he would be infallibly loſt in the good graces of the queen; at the ſame time, he was under no apprehenſion, from the known temper of the queen of Scots, that a perſon of his lordſhip's extraction could ever render himſelf acceptable to her. Elizabeth, whatever was her motive, gave ear to this propoſal, and ſent immediate inſtructions to Randolph, her ambaſſador in Scotland, to open the matter to Mary; but that queen reſolved to reject the offer, though ſhe feared to come to an open rupture with Elizabeth. She diſpatched Sir James Melvil to London, with inſtructions full of friendlineſs and regard. But when Elizabeth enquired if the queen of Scots had ſent any anſwer to the propoſition of marriage ſhe had made her, the ambaſſador gave an evaſive anſwer. Her Majeſty then entered upon the commendation of lord Robert Dudley, declared ſhe would marry him herſelf, if ſhe had not been determined to end her days in virginity: and ſhe further told Sir James Melvil, "ſhe wiſhed that the queen her ſiſter might marry him, as meeteſt of all other with whom ſhe could find in her heart to declare her ſecond perſon. For being matched with him, it would beſt remove out of her mind all fears and ſuſpicions to be offended by any uſurpation before her death. Being aſſured, that he was ſo loving and truſty, that he would never permit any ſuch thing to be attempted during her time." In the courſe of this curious converſation, given at large by Sir James Melvil, in his memoirs, Sir James had named the earl of Bedford as firſt commiſſioner to be ſent to Scotland, to ſettle all differences between the two crowns; and lord Robert Dudley only as his ſecond. The queen

queen took fire at this, vowed she would make him a far greater earl than Bedford, and desired the ambassador to stay till he should see him made earl of Leicester, and baron Denbigh, which was accordingly done at Westminster on the 29th of September 1564, with great solemnity, the queen herself assisting at the ceremony. And not long after, upon the resignation of Sir J. Mason, he was made chancellor of the university of Oxford.

The earl, however, seemed now rather to decline the match, than desire it; he excused himself to the Scottish ambassador, from having ever entertained so proud a pretence, declared his sense of his own unworthiness, and begged her Majesty would not be offended, nor impute a matter to him, which the malice of his enemies had devised for his destruction: within a few days after, Sir James Melvil obtained his dispatch, with a more ample declaration of the queen's mind, upon the subject of his embassy.

In the mean time, the earl of Leicester wrote letters to the earl of Murray, to excuse him to the queen of Scots. And that he might the better recommend himself at court, by shewing his zeal in the service of his royal mistress, he accused Sir Nicholas Bacon to Elizabeth, that he had intermeddled in the affair of the succession, and assisted in the publication of a book against the queen of Scot's title. The queen was highly offended, the author, Hales, was taken up and imprisoned, and Sir Nicholas Bacon would have infallibly lost his office, if Leicester could have persuaded Sir Anthony Brown to have accepted it.

In November following, the earl of Bedford and Mr. Randolph, the earl of Murray and secretary Lidington, commissioners on both sides, met near Berwick, to treat of the marriage, but with slenderer offers, and less effectual dealing, than was expected.

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The earl of Leiceſter's behaviour, and the prudence and diſcretion, which appeared in the letters he had written to the earl of Murray, had made an impreſſion upon the queen of Scots, and ſhe ſeemed ſo far to approve of the match, that queen Elizabeth began to be afraid it might take effect. Under theſe apprehenſions, and at the ſolicitation of ſecretary Cecil, ſhe permitted lord Darnley to take a journey into Scotland, in hope, that his preſence might be more prevalent than Leiceſter's abſence. And the earl of Leiceſter, perceiving the queen's inclination, wrote private letters to the earl of Bedford, to deſiſt from proſecuting his propoſed match any farther. The queen of Scots was ſoon after ſolemnly married to lord Darnley, in the royal chapel of Holyrood-houſe, and the next day he was publicly proclaimed king, and aſſociated with her Majeſty in the government.

In 1565, application was again made to queen Elizabeth to think ſeriouſly of marriage, by this means to weaken the party of the queen of Scots in England, and to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the proteſtant religion. The emperor Maximilian propoſed his brother, the arch-duke Charles, with very honourable conditions. The earl of Suſſex favoured the match; but Leiceſter, preſuming upon his power with the queen, took pains to prevent it. This oppoſition was ill digeſted by the earl of Suſſex, who was of an high ſpirit, and nobly deſcended. The honeſty of his nature led him to a profeſſed enmity, which divided the whole court; and whenever the two earls went abroad, they were attended with a retinue of armed followers; inſomuch, that the queen was obliged to interpoſe her authority to make up the breach: but Suſſex continued his averſion till his death; and, in his laſt ſickneſs, is ſaid to have addreſſed his friends to this purpoſe: "I am now paſſing into another world, and

and muſt leave you to your fortunes, and to the queen's grace and goodneſs; but beware of the gypſie (meaning Leiceſter) for he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beaſt ſo well as I do."

The ground of this quarrel, however, is more fully explained in Cecil lord Burleigh's papers, wherein it appears, that the queen permitted it to be debated in council, whether ſhe ſhould marry the arch-duke or Leiceſter? Suſſex and his friends drew up the reaſons why ſhe ſhould not marry Leiceſter. And from this very meaſure we may judge of the real intentions of Elizabeth, which were to gain the conſent of Mary and her miniſters to the propoſed match between the queen of Scots and Leiceſter, that it might not appear derogatory to her honour to marry him after another queen had agreed to accept his hand; but the Engliſh council prudently over-ruled her ſecret inclinations.

We have already obſerved, that the earl of Leiceſter was made chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, towards the end of the preceding year. At this æra, the univerſity was in a moſt deplorable condition: their diſcipline had long been neglected, and their learning moſt miſerably impoveriſhed. The whole univerſity could furniſh only three preachers; and in the abſence of two of them, the audience was frequently put off with very lame performances. To give the reader an inſtance: The congregation being one Sunday deſtitute of a preacher, Taverner of Woodeaton, the ſheriff of the county, enters St. Mary's, with his ſword by his ſide, and his gold chain about his neck, mounts the pulpit, and harangues the ſcholars in the following ſtrain: "Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's in the ſtony ſtage, where I now ſtand, I have brought you ſome fine biſcuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conſerved for the chickens

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of the church, the ſparrows of the ſpirit, and the ſweet ſwallows of ſalvation." This Taverner, it ſeems, had been brought up in the cardinal's college, was an inceptor in arts, and in deacon's orders, and a perſon at that time in eſteem for his learning in the univerſity; ſo that from this ſpecimen it appears to how low a character their ſtudies were reduced.

The earl of Leiceſter laboured by all poſſible means to introduce an improvement in literature, and give a new turn to the face of affairs in the univerſity. By his letters he recommended to them the practice of religion and learning, and preſſed them to a more cloſe obſervance of their duty. This application was not without its effect; proviſion was immediately made for reforming abuſes in graces and diſpenſations, lectures and public exerciſes were enforced by ſtatute, and the habits brought under regulation; the earl continuing to patronize and regulate the univerſity upon every occaſion.

In the beginning of the year 1566, monſieur Ramboullet was diſpatched into England to queen Elizabeth, by Charles IX. king of France, with the order of St. Michael, to be conferred on two Engliſh noblemen, ſuch as ſhould be moſt agreeable to her Majeſty. The queen made choice of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Leiceſter, the one diſtinguiſhed by his high birth, and the other by her Majeſty's favour. And on the twenty-fourth of January, they were inveſted in the royal chapel at Whitehall, with very great ſolemnity; no Engliſhman having ever been admitted before into this order, except king Henry VIII. king Edward VI. and Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.

This ſummer the queen made her firſt progreſs into the country, a laudable cuſtom which ſhe afterwards kept up, the greateſt part of her reign; and upon her return ſhe viſited Oxford. She was attended

attended by the earl of Leiceſter, who previouſly informing the univerſity of her deſign, deſired they would conſult their own credit upon this occaſion, and make an honourable proviſion for her Majeſty's reception. On the twenty-ninth of Auguſt his lordſhip, with ſome others of the nobility, were diſpatched before by her Majeſty, to give notice, that ſhe would be there within two days. The vice-chancellor and the heads of houſes came out to meet them on horſeback, and entertained them with Latin orations addreſſed to their chancellor and ſecretary Cecil. And in the afternoon the lords returned to Woodſtock, where the court lay, and expreſſed their ſatisfaction at their honourable reception.

On the thirty-firſt of Auguſt in the forenoon, the earls of Leiceſter and Huntingdon were preſent at Dr. Humphrey's lectures in the ſchools, who read as queen's profeſſor in divinity, and then they attended at the public diſputations. Towards evening, as her Majeſty approached, ſhe was met at Wolvercote, where the juriſdiction of the univerſity ends, by the chancellor the earl of Leiceſter, by four doctors, and the vice-chancellor, in their ſcarlet robes and hoods; and by eight maſters of arts, who were heads of colleges or halls. The chancellor then delivered the ſtaffs of the three ſuperior beadles into her Majeſty's hands, and having received them again from her, and likewiſe reſtored them to their reſpective officers, the canon of Chriſt-church made an elegant ſpeech to her Majeſty upon the occaſion. She then held out her hand to the orator and the doctors, and as Dr. Humphreys drew near to kiſs it, "Mr. doctor," ſays the queen, ſmiling, "that looſe gown becomes you mighty well, I wonder your notions ſhould be ſo narrow." This Humphreys, it ſeems, was at the

the head of the puritan party, and had oppoſed the eccleſiaſtical habits with violent zeal.

As ſhe entered the town, the ſtreets were lined with ſcholars from Bocardo to Quatervois, who, as her Majeſty paſſed along, fell down upon their knees, and with one voice cried out, "Long live the queen!" At Quatervois the Greek profeſſor addreſſed her Majeſty in a Greek oration, and the queen anſwered him in the ſame language, and commended his performance. From hence ſhe was conveyed with the like pomp to Chriſt-church, where ſhe was received by Mr. Kinſmill, the public orator; who, in the name of the univerſity, congratulated her Majeſty on her arrival among them.

For ſeven days together the queen was magnificently entertained by the univerſity, and expreſſed an extreme delight in the lectures, diſputations; public exerciſes, and ſhews; which ſhe conſtantly heard and ſaw. On the ſixth day ſhe declared her ſatisfaction in a Latin ſpeech, and aſſured them of her favour and protection. The day after ſhe took her leave, and was conducted by the heads as far as Shotover-hill, when the earl of Leiceſter gave her notice, that they had accompanied her to the limits of their juriſdiction. Mr. Roger Marbeck then made an oration to her Majeſty, and having laid open the difficulties under which learning had formerly laboured, he gratefully acknowledged the encouragements it had lately received, and the proſpect of its ariſing to a ſuperior degree of ſplendor under her Majeſty's moſt gracious adminiſtration. The queen heard him with pleaſure, returned a very favourable anſwer; and caſting her eyes back upon Oxford, with all poſſible marks of tenderneſs and affection, ſhe bade him farewell. Here it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the queen's countenance, and the earl of Leiceſter's care,

care, had such an effect upon the diligence of this learned body, that, within a few years after, it produced more eminent men in every branch of science, than in any preceding age.

Upon the queen's return to London, the parliament met on the first of November, fell into warm debates, and seemed resolved to insist upon her Majesty's immediate marriage, or the declaration of a successor. The earl of Leicester had earnestly supported the title of the queen of Scots; but, not meeting with the success he desired, he said that an husband ought to be imposed on the queen, or a successor appointed by parliament against her inclination. Wherein he was openly joined by the earl of Pembroke, and privately by the duke of Norfolk. But the queen was highly incensed at this behaviour, and, for some time, they were all excluded the presence-chamber, and prohibited access to her person: however, it was not long before they submitted, and obtained her Majesty's pardon.

During this disgrace, Leicester is charged with having entered into a traiterous correspondence with the Irish, who had just before broken out into an open rebellion. His letters are said to have been found upon a person of distinction, who was killed in battle; but, before the discovery could be made, he was reconciled to the queen, and placed above the reach of any private accusation.

The next year, count Stolberg was dispatched into England, by the emperor, to renew the treaty of marriage between his brother, the archduke Charles, and the queen. The earl of Sussex had not long before been sent to his imperial Majesty upon this subject, and had used his utmost efforts that her Majesty might be married to a foreign prince: but Leicester took care to supplant him in his designs, and privately engaged the lord North, who

who attended him in his journey, to be a ſpy upon his actions, and to break the meaſures he ſhould enter into, by adverſe inſinuations. In the mean time, he diſcouraged her Majeſty from the attempt, by laying before her the inconveniences that would neceſſarily ariſe from a foreign match: and the archduke, not long after, married the daughter of the duke of Bavaria; and Leiceſter was now no longer under any apprehenſion that the queen would marry a foreigner; indeed, the difficulties with reſpect to religion were a ſufficient bar, if no other impediment had ſtood in the way, to the ſucceſs of future negociations, as it had been in the caſe of the archduke.

In 1568, the queen of Scots fled into England; and Leiceſter appears to have continued ſtrongly attached to her intereſt. He even ſtands charged with having entered into a conſpiracy againſt ſecretary Cecil, becauſe he ſuſpected him to favour the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Suffolk.

Mary at this period was a widow for the third time, her ſecond huſband, lord Darnley, having been firſt murdered, as it is conjectured, and then blown up by gun-powder, with all his attendants, at his hunting-ſeat, in 1566: Bothwell, the ſuppoſed chief conſpirator, and the queen's favourite, was tried for the murder, but by her influence acquitted; and that no room might be left to doubt who was the real contriver of this foul treaſon, Mary married Bothwell ſoon after; upon which the earl of Murray, and other lords, raiſed an army againſt her, took her priſoner, and obliged her to reſign her crown to her ſon, by lord Darnley, an infant of thirteen months old, who was thereupon crowned by the title of James VI. and Murray was appointed regent: as to Bothwell, he fled to Denmark, where he died obſcurely, and Mary eſcaping, took refuge in England.

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Here Leiceſter contrived a new plan to reſtore the unfortunate, guilty queen, by propoſing a marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk. He took upon him to propound the matter to the duke; extenuated the crimes ſhe was accuſed of; and wrote letters to Mary in commendation of Norfolk; in which he earneſtly perſuaded her to approve of the marriage: and, farther, he drew up certain articles, which he ſent to her by the biſhop of Roſſe, promiſing, upon her acceptance of the propoſed conditions, to procure for her the crown of Scotland in preſent poſſeſſion, and the crown of England in reverſion.

Whilſt affairs were in this ſituation, and the earl of Leiceſter was waiting for a convenient opportunity of opening the deſign to his miſtreſs, the earl of Murray ſent ſecret advice to her Majeſty of the whole tranſaction, and charged the duke of Norfolk with having engaged in private practices to get the preſent poſſeſſion of the two crowns by means of this marriage. This report, though very foreign to the duke's inclinations, was ſupported by circumſtantial evidence, and raiſed the queen's jealouſy, to a high degree, againſt the duke and the lords that were concerned with him: which, when Norfolk underſtood, he would have perſuaded the earl to impart the ſcheme to her Majeſty without delay; but Leiceſter put it off from time to time, till, at length falling ſick at Titchfield, or, at leaſt, pretending ſickneſs; for he was a complete maſter of the courtly art of diſſimulation; and being there viſited by Elizabeth, he declared the whole matter to her, begging forgiveneſs with ſighs and tears: and, not long after, the duke and the lords being taken into cuſtody, the earl of Leiceſter was examined before the queen and council; where he gave ſuch an account of his proceedings, and behaved

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in such a manner, that he easily obtained her Majesty's pardon.

In 1571, died, in a strange manner, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who had been at the head of Leicester's party, against Cecil secretary of state, but had lately gone over to him. Being at Leicester's house, as he was at supper, he was seized, in a most violent manner, with an imposthumation in his lungs, and died in a few days, but not without suspicion of poison. It is said, that, on his changing sides, the earl was apprehensive he might make a discovery of his secret practices, and for this reason took care to dispatch him. And, he likewise bore him a secret grudge for a former message sent over to queen Elizabeth, whilst her ambassador in France, that he had heard it reported at the duke of Montmorency's table, that her Majesty was about to marry her horse-keeper, meaning Leicester her master of the horse.

The day before his death, Throgmorton is said to have declared the cause of his distemper to be a poisoned sallad he eat at the earl's; and he broke out into bitter invectives against his cruelty. The earl, however, made a mighty shew of lamentation over him; and, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, he thus expresses himself upon the occasion. "We have lost, on Monday, our good friend Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who died in my house, being there taken suddenly in great extremity on Tuesday before. His lungs were perished, but a sudden cold he had taken was the cause of his speedy death. God hath his soul, and we, his friends, great loss of his body."

About this time, a marriage was proposed between queen Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou; and the earl of Leicester appears to have laid aside his pretensions to the queen upon this occasion, and to have solicited the marriage with zeal. But the

the duke inſiſting upon a toleration in the exerciſe of his own religion, the queen abſolutely refuſed to comply.

With a view to prevent any farther attempts in favour of the queen of Scots, a law was now made, prohibiting, under a ſevere penalty, the declaring any perſon whatſoever to be heir or ſucceſſor of the queen, except it were the natural iſſue of her body. This expreſſion, as it was uncuſtomary in ſtatutes of this nature, and the term Natural was uſually applied by the lawyers to ſuch children as were born out of wedlock, gave great occaſion to cenſure; and loud clamours were raiſed againſt Leiceſter, as if, by inſerting this clauſe in the ſtatute, he had deſigned to involve the realm in new diſputes about the ſucceſſion: for it was urged, that no poſſible reaſon could be imagined, why the uſual form of Lawful Iſſue ſhould be changed into Natural Iſſue, unleſs with a view to reflect upon the honour of her Majeſty, and to obtrude hereafter upon the Engliſh ſome baſtard ſon of his own, as the Natural Iſſue of the queen.

From this time, it appears, that Leiceſter was univerſally deteſted, and very juſtly, for his pride and venality offended all the great officers of ſtate, and his other crimes drew upon him the odium of the people. He had quarrelled openly with archbiſhop Parker and the biſhop of London, for refuſing to grant a diſpenſation for a child to hold a valuable benefice, whoſe father had bribed Leiceſter to obtain this favour. He had likewiſe private gifts on the diſpoſal of biſhoprics, beſides lucrative grants from the crown; and to preſerve his extenſive influence at court, he was aſſiduous in his attendance on the queen, with whom he once ſat up the whole night, when ſhe was ill. Thus highly favoured, he carried his inſolence to ſuch a pitch to other courtiers, that even in the queen's preſence,

preſence, he treated them with great indignity: a privy-counſellor, we are told, unable to contain his reſentment at ſuch uſage, ſtruck him; upon which the queen told him, "he had forfeited his hand;" but the gentleman, with great preſence of mind, and noble intrepidity, falling on his knees, "intreated her Majeſty to ſuſpend this judgment, till the traitor, who better deſerved it, had loſt his head."

The year 1572, is but too fatally memorable, for the barbarous maſſacre of Paris, called the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, becauſe the bloody buſineſs commenced on the eve of St. Bartholomew. This plot was laid with as deep diſſimulation, as the action itſelf was horrid; and whether we conſider the high dignity of the perſons who projected it, the high rank of the victims ſacrificed to bigotry, or the innocence of the ſlaughtered multitude, we ſhall find no traces in modern hiſtory of ſuch examples of perfidy and cruelty as Charles IX. Catharine of Medicis his mother, and Pope Gregory XIII. the perpetrators of this inhuman butchery.

The particulars in brief ought to find a place, in all memoirs of theſe times, written by proteſtants, at the remoteſt ages, from the melancholy event; that they may never loſe ſight of the invariable maxims of diſſimulation, conſtantly practiſed by the church of Rome, to conceal her hatred of, and cruelty to the profeſſors of the reformed religion of every denomination, whom her rulers are intereſted to undermine and extirpate. The queen-dowager of Navarre was decoyed to Paris, by a propoſal of marriage between her ſon, afterwards Henry IV. of France, and the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Charles IX. The ſame pretext drew thither Henry prince of Bearn, and his uncle the prince of Condé. The famous admiral of France, Coligni, was invited by

by the king, with a promiſe to declare him his general in a war againſt Spain, and the other chiefs of the Huguenots (French Proteſtants) depending upon the peace that had been lately granted them, accompanied him. The queen of Navarre was taken off by poiſon. Coligni was ſhot at, as he was going home at noon, by a villain hired for the purpoſe, but he was only wounded. And in the evening, the duke of Guiſe communicated the king's ſecret intentions to Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers privately; giving orders, that the Roman Catholic citizens, as ſoon as they heard an alarm ſtruck on the bell of the palace clock, ſhould place lights in their windows by way of diſtinction, and then breaking into the houſes of all the Huguenots, put them to the ſword, without regard to ſex or age.

At midnight, Guiſe, accompanied by the duke D'Amaule, grand prior of France, a number of officers, and three hundred choſen ſoldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates, and entered the houſe; a colonel and two ſubaltern officers diſpatched the wounded Coligni, and threw his body from his chamber-window into the ſtreet. All his domeſtics were aſſaſſinated, without mercy; and while this was tranſacting, the alarm was ſtruck on the bell, and the militia joining with the ſoldiers, a general maſſacre enſued; two thouſand perſons were put to the ſword before morning, and a great number in the courſe of the enſuing day; at the ſame time, by orders from the court, the Huguenots, in all the capital cities of the kingdom of France, ſhared the ſame fate: but in two or three garriſon-towns they were ſpared, the governors refuſing to execute the bloody mandates, excuſing themſelves, by ſaying, the king muſt be out of his ſenſes when he gave them. The mangled body

body of the admiral was insulted by the bigotted populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon; and the young king of Navarre, the prince of Bearn, and the prince of Condé, were closetted by Charles and his savage mother, who told them, that if they did not embrace the Roman Catholic religion, they should not live three days; by fair promises they gained time, and made their escape.

But according to Camden, it was intended to have involved England in the fate of this evil day; for he says, that the earl of Leicester, and Cecil, then lord Burleigh, were invited to the nuptials, and were to have been cut off, being the supporters of the Protestant interest both in England and in France, by their councils and assistance: and the truth of this is justified by the conduct of the French ambassador soon after, who haughtily demanded, that all the French Protestants, who had fled to England, on hearing of the massacre of Paris, should be delivered up as rebellious subjects, which the queen, with equal humanity and resolution, absolutely refused.

To return to Leicester, most historians agree, that it was in the course of this year he privately married lady Douglas, dowager-baroness of Sheffield; and though some secret memoirs of the adventures of this unfortunate lady, whom he would never own as his wife, were handed about, yet the affair did not reach the queen's ear. But the wits of the court, after his marriage with the countess dowager of Essex was known, styled these two ladies, Leicester's two testaments, calling lady Douglas the old, and lady Essex the new testament. Unable, however, to make lady Douglas desist from her pretensions, he endeavoured, says Dugdale, to take her off by poison, and she narrowly escaped death, with the loss of her hair and her nails.

Yet

Yet all the reports and repreſentations made to the queen of the earl's reprehenſible conduct and bad character, had ſo little effect upon the queen, that in 1575, her Majeſty made him a viſit at his caſtle of Kenelworth, which had been granted to his lordſhip and his heirs, by the queen's letters patents, ever ſince the fifth year of her reign; and his expence in enlarging and adorning it, amounted to no leſs than 60,000*l.* Here he entertained the queen and her court with all imaginable magnificence, for ſeventeen days.

"At her firſt entrance, a floating iſland was diſcerned upon a large pool, glittering with torches; on which ſat the lady of the lake, attended by two nymphs, who addreſſed her Majeſty in verſe with an hiſtorical account of the antiquity and owners of the caſtle; and the ſpeech was cloſed with the ſound of cornets, and other inſtruments of loud muſic. Within the lower court was erected a ſtately bridge, twenty feet wide, and ſeventy feet long, over which the queen was to paſs; and on each ſide ſtood columns, with preſents upon them to her Majeſty from the gods. Silvanus offered a cage of wild-fowl, and Pomona divers ſorts of fruits; Ceres gave corn, and Bacchus wine; Neptune preſented ſea-fiſh, Mars the habiliments of war, and Phœbus all kinds of muſical inſtruments.

"During her ſtay, variety of ſports and ſhews were daily exhibited. In the chaſe was a ſavage man with ſatyrs; there were bear-baitings, fireworks, Italian tumblers, and a country wake, running at the quintain, and morrice-dancing. And, that no ſort of diverſion might be omitted, the Coventry men came, and acted the ancient play, ſo long ſince uſed in their city, called Hocks-Tueſday, repreſenting the deſtruction of the Danes in the reign of king Ethelred; which proved ſo agreeable to her Majeſty, that ſhe ordered them a

brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to defray the charges of the feaſt. There were, beſides, on the pool, a triton riding on a mermaid eighteen feet long, and Arion upon a dolphin."

An eſtimate may be formed of the expence from the quantity of beer that was drank upon this occaſion, which amounted to 320 hogſheads.

Towards the cloſe of this year, Walter D'Evereux, earl of Eſſex, was, by lord Leiceſter's management, commanded to reſign his authority in Ireland; and returned into England, after having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in his private fortunes. But expreſſing his reſentment with too much eagerneſs againſt Leiceſter, to whoſe under-hand dealings he imputed the whole cauſe of his misfortunes, he was again ſent back into Ireland by his procurement, with the unprofitable title of earl-marſhal of the country. And here he continued not long before he died of a bloody-flux in the midſt of incredible torments.

The death of this nobleman carried with it a ſuſpicion of poiſon, and was charged upon the earl of Leiceſter. Two of Eſſex's own ſervants, are reported to have been confederates in the murder: and it is ſaid, that a pious lady, whom the earl much valued, was accidentally poiſoned at the ſame time. It is farther alledged, that his lordſhip's page, who was accuſtomed to taſte of his drink before he gave it him, very hardly eſcaped with life, and not without the loſs of his hair, though he drank but a ſmall quantity; and that the earl, in compaſſion to the boy, called for a cup of drink a little before his death, and drank to him in a friendly manner, ſaying, "I drink to "thee, my Robin; but ben't afraid, 'tis a better "cup of drink than that thou tookeſt to taſte "when we both were poiſoned."

This

This report however, was contradicted by Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy of Ireland; yet the ſuſpicion was increaſed ſoon after, when Leiceſter married the counteſs dowager of Eſſex, an event which he wiſhed to conceal, but the French ambaſſador Simier, preſſing the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou, and imagining her private attachment to Leiceſter was the only obſtacle to it, revealed the earl's marriage to her, and ſhe was ſo intemperate in her rage upon this occaſion, that ſhe forbad him the court, and would have committed him to the Tower, if the earl of Suſſex had not prevented it, on prudential reaſons.

It is ſuggeſted, but with no ſhadow of reaſon, that Leiceſter plotted againſt the life of Simier in reſentment of this diſcovery; for the ſuſpicion was founded on two circumſtances; the one was a proclamation iſſued by the queen, that no perſon ſhould preſume to offer any affront to the French ambaſſador or his ſervants, but this is accounted for from the extreme averſion of the people to the propoſed marriage. The other was that, as Simier was attending the queen in a barge upon the river, a gun was fired, the ſhot from which paſſing the ambaſſador's barge ſhot one of the queen's watermen through both arms, but upon the cleareſt evidence it appeared, the gun was fired by accident.

In 1579, the duke of Anjou came over to England, thinking thereby the better to forward his ſuit; but for a long time he met with no better ſucceſs than his ambaſſador, at length, however, as he was one day entertaining her majeſty with amorous diſcourſe, ſhe drew a ring from off her finger, and placed it upon his, on certain private conditions, which had been agreed between them. The company preſent miſtook it for a contract of marriage; and the earl of Leiceſter, and the reſt

of his faction, who had ſpared no pains to render the deſign abortive, cried, The queen, the realm, and religion, were undone. The ladies of honour, who were all in his intereſt, broke out into bitter lamentations, and ſo terrified the queen, that, early the next morning, ſhe ſent for the duke of Anjou, and, after ſome private converſation with him, diſmiſſed him her court, after he had ſtaid in England three years. To do him honour, the queen attended him as far as Canterbury, and ordered the earl of Leiceſter, and ſome others of her nobility, to wait upon him to Antwerp, to which place he retired in 1582.

From this time, to 1585, we meet with nothing material in Leiceſter's tranſactions, except his ſubſcribing an aſſociation with the reſt of the nobility to defend queen Elizabeth at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, againſt the open, violence, and ſecret machinations of her enemies.

In 1585, the eſtates in the Netherlands, who had lately thrown off the Spaniſh yoke, being greatly diſtreſſed, made application to queen Elizabeth, and deſired her majeſty to accept of the government of the United provinces, and to take them into her protection. The queen heard their deputies favourably; however, ſhe refuſed the ſovereignty, and only entered into a treaty, by which ſhe engaged to furniſh them with a large ſupply of men and money, which ſhe ſent to them, ſoon after, under the conduct of her general, the earl of Leiceſter.

On the eighth of December he embarked, attended by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. His fleet conſiſted of fifty ſail of ſhips and tranſports; and, on the tenth, he arrived at Fluſhing, where, with his whole train, his perſon being guarded by fifty archers, fifty halberdiers, and fifty muſqueteers, he was magnificently entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, his

his nephew, governor of the town for her majesty; by Grave Maurice, second son to William of Nassau, prince of Orange, then lately deceased; by the magistracy of the city; and by the queen's ambassador. This town, with the castle of *Ramilies*, and the town of *Tervere* in Zealand, and the *Brille* in the province of Holland, had been delivered to Elizabeth, as a security for the repayment of the expences she had been at, to enable the united provinces to maintain their new republic, independent of Spain, and they are thence styled in history, *The Cautionary Towns*.

The same splendid and honourable reception was given to the earl throughout his progress to the Hague; every town endeavouring to outvie the other in demonstrations of respect; all manner of shews and entertainments by land and on their canals were exhibited; the detail of which is very prolix, and of little use in these days of refinement in every species of amusement; and the reader will be pleased to observe, that to indemnify him for the omission of the account of all this idle pomp and parade, (which he will find at large in *Aitzema*'s History of Holland) the more material historical events of Elizabeth's reign, connected with the life of Leicester, are introduced by the present editor.

At the Hague, the States desirous of engaging queen Elizabeth still further in their defence, as a compliment to her majesty, conferred on her favourite, the highest honour that republic can bestow: they made him governor and captain general of the United Provinces, gave him a guard, in the same manner as had been the custom for the prince of Orange, and permitted him to keep a court, to which the states, and the magistracy repaired to pay their compliments, and in most respects he was treated as their sovereign.

But this ſtep had a contrary effect to what the ſtates expected, for the queen had given a ſtrict charge to Leiceſter before his departure, not to exceed his commiſſion, which was ſo limited, that his acceptance of theſe honours highly militated againſt his ſecret inſtructions, as well as his commiſſion; her majeſty therefore conſidered her perſonal honour as injured, rather than complimented by the extravagant reception her lieutenant had met with, and thought the ſtates, who were conſiderably indebted to her, might have found a better uſe for their money, than to expend it on pageants, triumphal arches, and feaſts; ſhe therefore ſeverely reprimanded them in a letter written with her own hand, and to Leiceſter ſhe ſent her vice-chamberlain to check his ambition, by perſonal reproof.

The ſtates returned a ſubmiſſive anſwer, excuſed what they had done by the neceſſity they lay under, to ſhew her repreſentative all poſſible tokens of reſpect. The earl of Leiceſter, too, lamenting his hard fate in having diſobliged her, ſo wrought upon her eaſy diſpoſition by his feigned ſorrow, that ſhe overlooked the offence, and even acquieſced in the title given him by the ſtates.

The earl then proceeded to the exerciſe of his high authority, and having appointed natives of Holland to be his deputies in every province, he put the whole army, both Dutch and Engliſh, under ſuch excellent regulations, that the prince of Parma, general of the Spaniſh forces, began to conſider him as a formidable enemy, and to deſpair of recovering theſe provinces for the crown of Spain, though not long before he had boaſted, that he ſhould make them an eaſy conqueſt. Several ſkirmiſhes now happened, in which the Engliſh forces gained the advantage; and the prince of Parma having laid ſiege to Grave, Norris, who

was

was Leiceſter's lieutenant general, and count Hollack, repulſed him with conſiderable loſs, but Van Hemart, a young Dutch nobleman, the governor, basely ſurrendered it, for which he loſt his head. However, upon the whole, the Engliſh were ſo ſucceſsful, that in honour of their victories, Leiceſter determined to celebrate the feſtival of St. George at Utrecht, where he had his head quarters, with the ſame ridiculous oſtentation, a fondneſs for which was one of his great foibles. And this freſh proof of his vanity, embroiled him again with his royal miſtreſs, whoſe frequent remiſſion of his offences, has been always urged as the ſtrongeſt proof, by foreign hiſtorians, of a criminal attachment to him.

But the future ſucceſs of the campaign not anſwering to the high expectations formed by the Dutch, on the firſt enterpriſes of the Engliſh, the miſcarriages were imputed to Leiceſter's want of military courage and conduct, eſpecially after the failure of the ſiege of *Zutphen*, a town in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, and of the moſt importance of any they held in the Netherlands.

The ſtrength of this place conſiſted in a fort built upon the river Yſſel. This Leiceſter endeavoured to block up by batteries erected againſt it, and he reduced the governor to ſuch extremities, that he was obliged to ſend to the prince of Parma, then beſieging Rhinberg for ſuccours. The prince at the head of a ſtrong detachment, flew to his aſſiſtance, and at this critical juncture, by ſome unaccountable miſconduct, Leiceſter neglected to ſend money to the Count de Meurs, to pay two thouſand German mercenaries whom the count had haſtily levied and brought into Holland for the ſervice of the ſtates, and the prince of Parma being informed that the men were on the point to mutiny, ſhewed his generalſhip, by ſur-

rounding them in this temper, whereupon ſome threw down their arms, and the reſt entered into the Spaniſh ſervice. After which he contrived to throw ſuccours into the fort at Zutphen.

But the flower of the Engliſh volunteers being in the field, and among them many perſons of high rank, particularly the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, Sir William Stanley, Sir William Ruſſel, and Sir John Norris, they reſolved to purſue the enterprize, notwithſtanding this diſcouragement; and rather to die for the honour of their country, than raiſe the ſiege. With ſuch ſentiments, it is not ſurpriſing that they performed prodigies of valour, but all their efforts proved ineffectual, for Leiceſter again ſacrificed to his idol vanity in this famous battle; having taken a chapel which ſtood in the field of battle, he employed too much time and attention, in ſecuring this poſt which he had taken in erſon, by a trench, inſtead of inſpecting the motions of the enemy, who had broke through the line of the Engliſh foot, and ſupported by a ſtrong fire from their cavalry, had made dreadful havock; but ſeeing Leiceſter chiefly intent on his trifling acquiſition, the enemy directed their attack with three thouſand men againſt the general's favourite chapel, which occaſioned a bloody conteſt, the Spaniards gaining poſſeſſion of it; but at length, they were driven with conſiderable ſlaughter to their intrenchments; however, the advantages which had been gained by the Engliſh in other quarters were loſt by this manœuvre, and time was given to the prince of Parma, who had hitherto left the fate of the day to the marquis of Vaſto, to advance with his main force againſt the Engliſh, juſt as they were preparing to force the intrenchments. Then it was that the lieutenant-general Norris, obſerving the deſign of the prince of Parma, which was to flank the Engliſh, adviſed Leiceſter either to call off the troops

troops under Sir William Pelham, from their attack on the intrenchments, to support the body of the Engliſh againſt the prince, or to order a retreat. Leiceſter unfortunately choſe the latter; and Zutphen remained in the hands of the Spaniards.

In the battle, the Engliſh in general, gave ſignal proofs of their military ſkill and perſonal valour; but Sir Philip Sidney ſurpaſſed all others. This gallant officer, who was the ſon of Sir Henry Sidney, by Mary, the eldeſt daughter of John Dudley duke of Northumberland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf very early at the court of Elizabeth; for after having made the tour of Europe, he was eſteemed ſuch an accompliſhed young gentleman, that in the year 1576, when he was but in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, he was ſent by the queen to congratulate Rodolphus II. emperor of Germany, on his acceſſion to the imperial throne. And in his way home, he viſited Don John of Auſtria, governor of the Low-countries, a moſt haughty prince, accuſtomed to treat all foreigners with inſolent contempt; Sir Philip Sidney therefore met with a very cool reception, but afterwards, upon the report of his courtiers, that he was a gentleman of great learning and knowledge of the world, though ſo young, he condeſcended to converſe with him, and from that time he ſhewed him every poſſible mark of reſpect and eſteem.

He poſſeſſed the ancient ſpirit of Britiſh freedom, which he exerted manfully upon all occaſions, particularly when a quarrel happened between him and the earl of Oxford at the royal tennis-court, which was carried to ſuch lengths that the queen interpoſed, and told Sidney "to conſider the difference in degree between earls and gentlemen, adding, that princes were under a neceſſity to ſupport the privileges of thoſe on whom they conferred titles and dignities; and that, if gentlemen contemned

the nobility, it would teach peaſants to inſult both." To which he made the following reply, with due reverence: "That rank was never intended for privilege to wrong; witneſs her Majeſty herſelf, who, how ſovereign ſoever ſhe were by throne, birth, education, and nature, yet was ſhe content to caſt her own affections into the ſame moulds with her ſubjects, and govern all her prerogatives by their laws. And he beſought her Majeſty to conſider, that although the earl of Oxford were a great lord by birth, alliance, and favour, yet he was no lord over him; and therefore the difference in degrees between freemen, could challenge no other homage but precedency."

With the ſame independent ſpirit he wrote an elegant Latin letter to the queen, containing the ſoundeſt arguments, founded on the principles of general policy, and the conſtitution of the kingdom, diſſuading her from the marriage then nearly concluded between her Majeſty and the duke of Anjou; which letter was well received, and is preſerved in the queen's library at the Muſeum.

But his natural fire and vivacity made him ſcorn the idle life of a courtier, and led him on to the field of military glory; the queen therefore, by the recommendation of Walſingham, whoſe daughter he had married, and of his uncle the earl of Leiceſter, appointed him governor of Fluſhing, and lieutenant-general of the horſe. Arrived in Zealand, he formed a cloſe friendſhip and intimacy with Maurice, ſon of the prince of Orange; and in conjunction with him, entered Flanders, and took Axel by ſurpriſe. Though the prince is named in this enterprize, yet the honour of the contrivance, and the execution of it, is generally aſcribed to Sidney, who revived the ancient diſcipline of ſilent order on the march; and by this conduct, his ſoldiers were enabled to ſcale the walls

walls in the dead of night, when no enemy was expected. Having succeeded so far, a chosen band made directly to the guard-chamber on the market-place, took the officers prisoners, and thus became masters of the place before the commandant, who had the keys of the town in his bed-chamber, had the least notice of the surprize.

Encouraged by this success, he made an attempt upon Graveline; but the design proved abortive, through the treachery of La Motte, the commanding officer. His next and last service was at the siege of Zutphen; here he was constantly engaged in the heat of the action, and signalized himself by prodigies of valour. He had two horses killed under him, and was mounting a third, when he was wounded by a musket shot from the trenches, which broke the bone of one of his thighs; and being then unable to manage his horse, he bore him from the field; "the noblest bier to carry a martial commander to his grave." In this agonizing situation, he rode to the camp, near a mile and half distant, and passing by the rest of the army, faint with the loss of blood, he called for drink; but when it was brought to him, as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along more dangerously wounded, who cast a longing eye towards the bottle, which the generous, heroic Sidney observing, he gave it to the soldier, before he had tasted a drop himself, saying, "thy necessity is yet greater than mine." He drank however after the soldier, and was then carried to *Arnheim*, where the principal surgeons were: during sixteen days they entertained hopes of his recovery, but at last finding they were not able to extract the ball, this brave man prepared to meet death with a pious fortitude and resignation, correspondent to the great actions of his life. He expired in the arms of his brother, Sir Robert Sidney,

Sidney, on the 17th of October, 1586, in the thirty-second year of his age; to whose memory we cannot pay a greater tribute of honour, than by styling him the Wolfe of those times.

The States of Zeeland requested of the queen that they might have the honour of burying him, but this was refused; and her Majesty, in consideration of his uncommon merit, ordered the body to be embarked for England, which was accordingly done, with the usual military honours; it was received with the same at the Tower, and after lying in state several days, was interred with great pomp in St. Paul's cathedral. But besides his military fame, he left an unfading memorial of his fine genius, in his celebrated romance, entitled, Arcadia.

The loss of this promising hero, in the bloom of youth, combined with the ill fortune of the day, occasioned loud murmurs in the army, and alienated the esteem of the Dutch, who now openly arraigned Leicester, and did not scruple to charge him with want of military skill, if not of personal valour.

When therefore he arrived at the Hague, after this campaign, the states being then assembled, they received him with coldness, and soon broke out in expostulation and complaint; in a moderate way desiring redress. But Leicester, in return, entered upon a justification of his proceedings, strove to remove their supposed misconstructions and mistakes, and at last endeavoured to dissolve the assembly; but not being able to effect it, he declared his resolution of returning to England, and left them in an angry manner. However, he seems afterwards to have been brought to temper, and to have told the states, that by his journey into England, he should be the better enabled to assist them in their affairs, and provide a remedy for all grievances.

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When the day came for his departure, by a public act, he gave up the care of the provinces into the hands of the council of ſtate; but privately, the ſame day, by an act of reſtriction, he reſerved an authority to himſelf over all governors of provinces, forts and cities; and farther took away from the council and the preſidents of provinces, their accuſtomed juriſdiction. And then he ſet ſail for England.

But whatever might be the pretence for Leiceſter's leaving the Low-countries at this conjuncture, his preſence in England ſeems now to have been deſired ſecretly by Elizabeth, who wanted him near her perſon at this juncture: for the late conſpiracies, which had been formed in favour of the queen of Scots, had made a deep impreſſion upon her Majeſty, and ſhe now reſolved to ſacrifice her to her own ſafety; but the difficulty lay in what manner it ſhould be done; and ſhe knew ſhe could ſecurely rely upon Leiceſter's fidelity. When the matter was brought before the council, his lordſhip is ſaid to have adviſed to take her off by poiſon; but this baſe deſign being openly oppoſed by ſecretary Walſingham, it was determined to proceed againſt her by public trial, the proceedings and iſſue whereof, the reader will find in the life of Cecil lord Burleigh.

In the mean time, the affairs of the Low-countries were in a very unproſperous condition. And the governors of the provinces gave in loud complaints againſt the earl of Leiceſter's adminiſtration. During his ſtay in England, they called together the ſtates general, and to preſerve their country, they agreed to inveſt prince Maurice with the full power and authority of Stadtholder. Purſuant to this determination, they obliged all the officers to receive a new commiſſion from him, and to take a new oath to the ſtates, and diſcharged all recuſants whatſoever from the ſervice.

Queen

Queen Elizabeth was highly diſpleaſed with theſe alterations in the government. She immediately ſent over lord Buckhurſt to enquire into the matter, to complain of the innovations they had introduced in the earl of Leiceſter's abſence, and to ſettle all differences between them. The ſtates in return, aſſured her Majeſty, that their proceedings were but proviſional, and enforced through fear of a general revolt in conſequence of their loſſes; and that at his lordſhip's return they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority; for the ſtates were too well acquainted with the ſhare Leiceſter bore in her Majeſty's affection, to abide by any accuſation againſt him. But notwithſtanding many outward profeſſions of regard, they inwardly hated him, and privately proceeded in the execution of their projects, to limit his power.

The queen however, openly eſpouſing the cauſe of her favourite, Leiceſter went over to Holland again, where by his profeſſions of zeal for the proteſtant religion, he formed a ſtrong party among the divines and devotees, and thus raiſed two factions in the country, by which the ſtates were greatly diſtreſſed, the magiſtrates and perſons of rank only being of their party, while the maſs of the people, with the clergy, were devoted to Leiceſter: from this embarraſſing ſituation, they were fortunately relieved by Leiceſter's recall in 1588, when England was in a general conſternation on account of the intended invaſion, by the Spaniſh Armada. And to the aſtoniſhment of the Dutch miniſter in England, as well as of the whole Engliſh nation, though lord Buckhurſt now delivered in accuſations againſt him at the council-board, for mal-adminiſtration in the Low-countries, ſupported by the ſtates, who were exaſperated at the loſs of Sluys, and the general bad ſucceſs of the campaign in 1587, the queen interpoſed; and as a token of her great eſteem for,

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and confidence in the earl, ſhe made him lieutenant-general of the army, which had marched to Tilbury to prevent the landing of the Spaniards. As her Majeſty intended to put herſelf at the head of this army, if the Spaniards had made a deſcent on the coaſt, no greater honour could be conferred on a ſubject, nor could a greater proof be given of blind favouritiſm; for Leiceſter certainly wanted many of the talents requiſite to form a great general, and it is not without reaſon that he is ſuppoſed to have been deficient in perſonal bravery. Indeed it can hardly be imagined, that cool reflection, temper and courage, could ſubſiſt in a mind over-charged with the remembrance of crimes of the deepeſt dye.

Yet Elizabeth, when ſhe reviewed this army, beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on him, in her memorable ſpeech, which, conſidering the great occaſion, and the dignity of the ſpeaker, claims a place in this work, without abridgment, or alteration.

In imitation of the celebrated generals of ancient Greece and Rome, the illuſtrious Engliſh heroine thus harangued her troops:

"My loving People,

"We have been perſuaded by ſome, that are careful of our ſafety, to take heed how we commit ourſelves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I aſſure you, I do not deſire to live to diſtruſt my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear, I have always ſo behaved myſelf, that, under God, I have placed my chiefeſt ſtrength and ſafeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my ſubjects. And therefore I am come amongſt you, as you ſee, at this time, not for my recreation and diſport, but being reſolved, in the midſt and heat of the battle, to live and die amongſt you all; to lay down

down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the duſt. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and ſtomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and think it foul ſcorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, ſhould dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which, rather than any diſhonour ſhall grow by me, I myſelf will take up arms, I myſelf will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardneſs, you have deſerved rewards and crowns; and we do aſſure you, on the word of a prince, they ſhall be duly paid you.

In the mean time, my lieutenant-general ſhall be in my ſtead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy ſubject, not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victory over thoſe enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

The Spaniſh invaſion was providentially prevented by a violent ſtorm which diſperſed their fleet, and it was afterwards defeated; but for the account of this engagement, we refer to the lives of the lord high admiral, Charles Howard earl of Nottingham, and of Sir Francis Drake.

This was the laſt expedition in which the earl of Leiceſter was engaged; for retiring ſoon after to his caſtle at Kenelworth, as he was upon his journey, he was taken ill of a fever at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordſhire; of which he died on the 4th of September 1588.

His death, according to ſome authors, was haſtened by poiſon, and the crime is imputed to Sir James Crofts, in revenge for ſome injury done by the

the earl to his father. His corpſe was removed to Warwick, and magnificently interred in a chapel, adjoining to the choir of the collegiate church, and over it an handſome monument was erected to his memory.

His character is given in few words, by Camden; "he was a moſt accompliſhed courtier, free and bountiful to ſoldiers and ſtudents; a cunning time-ſever, and reſpecter of his own advantages; of a diſpoſition ready and apt to pleaſe; crafty and ſubtle towards his adverſaries; much given formerly to women, and in his latter days doating extremely upon marriage. But, whilſt he preferred power and greatneſs, which is ſubject to be envied, before ſolid virtue, his detracting emulators found large matter to ſpeak reproachfully of him; and, even when he was in his moſt flouriſhing condition, ſpared not diſgracefully to defame him by libels, not without a mixture of ſome untruths."

But certain it is, that he was well ſkilled in and a frequent practiſer of the diabolical art of poiſoning; which formed part of the Machiavelian accompliſhments of a courtier in moſt courts of Europe at this æra.

The earl of Leiceſter left only one ſon, to whom he bequeathed the greateſt part of his real eſtate, by the title of *his baſe ſon Robert*, on account of his having always denied his marriage with the lady Douglas, his mother; but the young gentleman, with great reaſon, laid claim to legitimacy, and to the hereditary honours of his family, in the beginning of the reign of James I. and commenced a ſuit for that purpoſe in the eccleſiaſtical court; and when he had proceeded ſo far as to prove the marriage of his mother, by indubitable evidence, the cauſe, through the influence of the dowager counteſs of Leiceſter, (formerly counteſs of Eſſex) now married to a third huſband, Sir Chriſtopher Blunt,

Blunt, was amoved into the ſtar-chamber, where the king in an arbitrary manner put an end to the ſuit, by ordering the examinations of the witneſſes to be locked up, and no copies to be taken without the royal licence.

This act of injuſtice determined Sir Robert Dudley to leave his native country, and at this time he was eſteemed one of the moſt accompliſhed gentlemen of his age. The Dudley family, for three deſcents, had furniſhed men of very great abilities; but this reputed *baſe* ſon, in learning, ſurpaſſed them all, eſpecially in the uſeful part of mathematics. And in the laſt years of Elizabeth, he had fitted out ſome ſhips, and made ſome valuable diſcoveries in navigation: he alſo took and deſtroyed nine ſail of Spaniſh ſhips; and he behaved ſo gallantly at the ſiege of Calais, that the queen conferred on him the honour of knighthood; but he certainly did not receive the encouragement he appears to have merited, either in her reign, or that of her ſucceſſor.

Diſguſted at the Engliſh court, he obtained a licence to travel for three years; but upon the death of his uncle the earl of Warwick, he aſſumed his title abroad, which giving offence to king James, he was ordered home, and not thinking it prudent to comply, his eſtate was confiſcated, for his life, to the crown.

Upon this reverſe of fortune he retired to Florence, where he was kindly received by Coſmo II. great duke of Tuſcany; and for his eminent ſervices to the manufactures and commerce of that country, the emperor, on the recommendation of the archduchеſs, to whom he had been appointed chamberlain, created him a duke of the Holy Roman Empire in 1620; and he then aſſumed his grandfather's title, duke of Northumberland.

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He died at his country-ſeat near Florence in 1639, leaving a great character in the learned world for his ſkill in philoſophy, chemiſtry, and medicine; and in the means of applying them for the benefit of mankind.

He was an author of ſome repute; and his principal work, entitled, *Del Arcano del mare*, &c. printed at Florence in 1630, and again in 1646, is highly valuable and very ſcarce. He was alſo the inventor of a ſudorific powder, for a long time known, under the name of the earl of Warwick's powder.

*** *Authorities.* Camden's Annals and Birch's Life of Queen Elizabeth. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire. Fuller's Worthies of Surry. Melvil's Memoirs, edit. 1752. Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, Travels, and Diſcoveries of the Engliſh Nation, fol. edit. 1580.

THE LIFE OF

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,

Secretary of State to Queen ELIZABETH.

[A.D. 1536, to 1590.]

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM was deſcended of an ancient and good family, born about the year 1536; he was educated at King's-college in the univerſity of Cambridge: his friends ſent him to travel in foreign countries while he was very

very young; and it was owing to this happy circumſtance, that he remained abroad during the perſecuting adminiſtration of queen Mary, to whoſe ſanguinary zeal he might otherwiſe have fallen a victim for his declared attachment, while he was at the univerſity, to the reformed religion.

A genius for political knowledge, directed his attention in early life, to the ſtudy of the forms of government, legiſlations, manners and cuſtoms of the different nations of Europe; and of theſe he acquired ſuch a competent knowledge, that on his return to England in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, her Majeſty ſoon diſcovered his talents for public buſineſs, and deſired Sir William Cecil, then ſecretary of ſtate, to employ him, in ſome honourable ſtation under him. Cecil accordingly received him at firſt into his office, as his under-ſecretary; and afterwards, as he became better acquainted with his profound ſkill in politics, he confided to him the moſt intereſting negociations of ſtate, and adviſed with him on the propriety of the meaſures he had taken in his concerns with foreign powers. Walſingham, by theſe advances, led the way to the high honour which was conferred on him in the year 1570, when he was ſent ambaſſador to France, where he ſerved queen Elizabeth with great fidelity and addreſs; but, by his vaſt expences in procuring intelligence at that critical period, he involved himſelf ſo deeply in debt, that he was obliged to ſolicit his recall; which he obtained in 1573.

The hardſhips he had undergone, during his late embaſſy, a ſcarcity of proviſions, amounting nearly to a famine, having happened while he reſided at Paris, joined to a conſciouſneſs of having failed in her promiſes of remittances, which had expoſed him to great difficulties, obliged the queen in honour, to make him ſome recompence on his return,

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ſhe took the moſt prudent method to cancel the obligation, and to ſerve herſelf at the ſame time, by appointing him to be one of her principal ſecretaries of ſtate; the ſame year, he was alſo ſworn of the privy-council, and ſoon after he received the honour of knighthood.

It was on the promotion of his conſtant friend and patron Sir William Cecil, now created a peer, and made lord-treaſurer, that Walſingham was raiſed to his new dignity; but ſtill he was the junior ſecretary, till the death of Sir Thomas Smith, which happened in 1577; from which time Sir Francis Walſingham may be conſidered as ſecond in the adminiſtration of public affairs, and the firm, grateful ſupporter of Cecil lord Burleigh's power and influence, againſt Leiceſter and his party. And though it will appear, in the life of Cecil, that he was the principal in all the great tranſactions of Elizabeth's reign till the year 1598, yet in juſtice to Walſingham, it muſt be obſerved, that without the aſſiſtance of the particular caſt of political abilities poſſeſſed by him, Cecil in all probability muſt have fallen a victim to the ſiniſter deſigns of his numerous enemies.

Sir Francis was peculiarly happy, in the diſcovery of court intrigues and treaſonable conſpiracies at home; and he was no leſs ſucceſsful in procuring the earlieſt and moſt authentic intelligence of the ſecret deſigns of the principal powers of Europe.

Dr. Lloyd mentions the means he made uſe of to ſecure private advices from abroad; "he maintained fifty-three agents and eighteen ſpies in foreign courts," and this at a trifling expence; whereas, in the preſent times of political error, we have only one lordly miniſter at every court, with the extravagant yearly ſalary of 3000 *l.* whoſe chief employment is to dreſs, to give ſumptuous entertainments, and to introduce Britiſh travellers of rank and fortune

tune at the court where he reſides; thus paſſing an agreeable life of diſſipation, they know nothing of the ſtate affairs of the country, but what they pick up at card-tables, or from opera girls; and the beſt political intelligence is tranſmitted home from private perſons, unpenſioned, unemployed, and we are ſorry to add, often unthanked.

This experienced ſtateſman was ſent over to Holland in 1578, to aſſiſt at the congreſs held by the Proteſtant ſtates of the provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friezland*, and *Utrecht*; he acted as the repreſentative of queen Elizabeth at their meetings, but thoſe writers who ſtyle this private agency an embaſſy, forgot that the republic was not yet eſtabliſhed, or in a capacity to receive ambaſſadors; Walſingham however contributed by his political talents and influence to the formation of the alliance entered into by theſe provinces, the beginning of the following year, ſtyled, *The union of* UTRECHT, which was the object of his commiſſion.

On his return home, he was conſulted by the queen and Cecil on the conditions of the propoſed marriage between her Majeſty and the duke of Anjou; and theſe being adjuſted, he was appointed ambaſſador to the court of France, for the third time, and he repaired thither in 1581; but Henry III. of France, rejecting the propoſals, the embaſſy proved unſucceſsful; Walſingham was recalled towards the cloſe of the year; and the duke of Anjou finally quitted England, as we have related more amply, in the life of Leiceſter.

Upon every occaſion, when ſkilful addreſs and political intrigue were eſſentially requiſite, Walſingham was ſure to be employed; as ſoon therefore as the queen received intelligence that the young king of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, had ſhewn a ſtrong attachment to the earl of Arran, and had made him his chief confident, Walſingham

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was dispatched to Scotland, to endeavour to remove the earl; or if that could not be effected, to form a party at court and in the kingdom against him. The latter he accomplished, and at the same time, he pursued another secret design of Elizabeth, "which was to obtain from a man of Walsingham's penetration and discernment, the real character of James:" this we give on the authority of Hume, who further adds, "that Walsingham was greatly deceived upon this occasion, entertaining higher ideas of his talents for public business than they merited." But this does not impeach the judgment of our statesman, who at the time of his arrival in Scotland, and during his residence there, was in a very bad and declining state of health: and in this situation, James, who knew his fame as a man of letters, engaged him chiefly in conversations which tended to shew his own scholastic learning; and Walsingham, says Lloyd, "fitted the humour of the king by passages out of Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, or Tacitus," in such literary conferences, the young monarch took great delight, and he generally exerted himself upon such occasions; so that from his critical knowledge of ancient history and other branches of science, Walsingham was warranted to draw a conclusion, that he would not prove so miserably deficient, as we shall find he was, in the application of his knowledge to practice.

In 1586, by his peculiar sagacity and management, he unravelled the whole plot of Babington, and others, against the life of the queen.

Soon after this, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the trial of the queen of Scots, having before opposed the advice of the earl of Leicester, who was inclined to dispatch her by poison, and had privately sent a court-divine to secretary Walsingham, to persuade him to consent; but the latter persisted in his opinion, that such a method

of proceeding was not only unjuſt, but likewiſe dangerous and diſhonourable to their royal miſtreſs.

In the courſe of the trial, queen Mary charged him with counterfeiting her cyphers, and with practiſing againſt her's and her ſon's life. Whereupon Walſingham, riſing from his ſeat with great earneſtneſs, proteſted that his heart was free from all malice againſt the queen—he called God to witneſs that, in his private character, he had done nothing unbecoming an honeſt man, nor in his public capacity any thing unworthy of his ſtation. He owned indeed, that out of his great care for the perſonal ſafety of his royal miſtreſs, and the ſecurity of her realm, he had curiouſly endeavoured to ſearch and ſift out all plots and deſigns againſt both. And he added, that in this view, if Ballard, though an accomplice with Babington, had offered him his ſervice in the diſcovery of the plot, he would not only have accepted it, but have rewarded him for it. Mary ſeemed to be ſatisfied with this vindication of himſelf, and expreſſed her concern that ſhe ſhould have credited every idle report to his diſadvantage.

In 1587, the king of Spain having made vaſt preparations, which ſurpriſed and kept all Europe in ſuſpenſe, not knowing on what nation the ſtorm would break, Walſingham employed his utmoſt endeavours for the diſcovery of this important ſecret; and accordingly procured intelligence from Madrid, that the king had informed his council of his having ſent an expreſs to Rome, with a letter under his own hand to the pope, acquainting him with the true deſign of his preparations, and begging his bleſſing upon it; which, for ſome reaſons, he could not diſcloſe to the council till the return of the courier. The ſecret being thus lodged with the pope, Walſingham, by the means of a Venetian prieſt retained at Rome as his ſpy, got a copy of the original letter, which was ſtolen out of the pope's

pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the key out of the pope's pocket while he ſlept.

After this, by his dextrous management, he cauſed the Spaniards bills to be proteſted at Genoa, which ſhould have ſupplied them with money for their extraordinary preparations; and, by this means, he happily retarded this formidable invaſion for a whole year.

This ſeems to have been the laſt public tranſaction in which he was concerned, and as to his private life we have no intereſting anecdotes relative to it. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, before we drop the curtain on this true patriot, that every attempt to promote the trade and navigation of this country, met with his protection and encouragement. Hakluyt's voyages and diſcoveries in foreign parts, and Gilbert's ſettling of Newfoundland, were promoted by him; and he aſſiſted theſe adventurers from his private purſe, which accounts for his poverty. He likewiſe founded a divinity-lecture at Oxford, and a library at King's-college, Cambridge.

Yet after all his eminent ſervices to his country, this great man gave a remarkable proof at his death (which happened on the ſixth of April, 1590,) how far he preferred the public to his own intereſt; for, though, beſides his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, he was chancellor to the dutchy of Lancaſter, and to the order of the garter; he died ſo poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him by night in St. Paul's church, leſt his body ſhould be arreſted for debt: a circumſtance, of which we have few or no examples; nor is it likely that any of our modern ſtateſmen will make ſuch ſacrifices of their fortunes, acquired in the public ſervice, to the public good.

In fine, let every generous Britiſh youth bear in grateful remembrance, that the head, the heart, and the purſe of Walſingham, were devoted to his country—that he laid the foundation of the proteſtant religion as by law eſtabliſhed—ruined the machinations of Rome to undermine it—and by his encouragement of navigation, arts, and manufactures, extended the commerce of England to various regions of the habitable globe, till his time unknown by our countrymen.

His negotiations, or ſtate-papers, were collected by Sir Dudley Digges, maſter of the rolls, and publiſhed in 1655, folio. A work is likewiſe aſcribed to him, intitled, *Arcana Aulica*, or Walſingham's manual of prudential maxims, which has been often printed; but we have no certain authority that he was the author.

A maxim however, which was undoubtedly his, being adapted to perſons of all ranks, and of every age, may ſupply the place, with advantage, of the engraver's tail-piece:

KNOWLEDGE
IS
NEVER TOO DEAR.

*** *Authorities.* Camden's Annals. Lloyd's State Worthies. Melvil's Memoirs. Biog. Britan.

The

The LIFE of SIR JOHN PERROT.

[A. D. 1527, to 1592.]

WE are now to preſent to the reader one of thoſe genuine Engliſh military characters with which our hiſtory abounds, whoſe rough, unconquerable valour, noble fierceneſs, and manly ſpirit, untempered by the ſofter paſſions, or the moral and ſocial virtues, could only recommend them to future ages and enrol their names on the regiſters of fame, by heroic actions in the ſervice of their country, performed at ſome particular criſis, when its welfare depended in a great meaſure on the exiſtence of ſuch eccentric beings.

The French ſtyle them ſavage, brutal and feroce, but Engliſhmen will know how to ſet a proper value on thoſe uncivilized ſons of Mars and Neptune, whoſe daring intrepidity has often been the ſalvation of their country; and they will caſt a veil over the diſſipation and libertinage of their domeſtic lives, in conſideration of their glorious actions in the field.

Such indulgence muſt we claim, for ſir John Perrot, the reputed ſon of Thomas Perrot, eſq; of South Wales, by Mary the daughter and heireſs of James Berkley, eſq; ſecond ſon to the lord Berkley; but it was generally believed, (according to Lloyd) and many circumſtances in his life will confirm it, that he was the natural ſon of Henry VIII. whom he greatly reſembled both in his per-

ſon and his diſpoſition. An intimacy of a ſuſpicious nature had ſubſiſted between the king and his mother, a ſhort time before ſhe was married to Mr. Perrot, and it is remarkable that we have no certain indication of the time of his birth, being obliged to compute it only from the æra of his being placed under the care of the marquis of Wincheſter, lord high treaſurer, about the year 1545, and it is generally allowed, he was then eighteen years of age, which calculation fixes his birth to the year we have aſſigned it.

The marquis following the example of Wolſey, and other ſtateſmen of thoſe times, received young gentlemen of rank and fortune into his houſe, to complete their education, eſpecially ſuch as were deſtined for public life. Young Perrot's reputation for perſonal valour, ſtrength, and dexterity in martial exerciſes, which had been his chief rural ſports, reached London before him, and it ſerved to introduce an extraordinary ſcene in lord Wincheſter's houſe on his arrival, which at once diſcovered the caſt of his diſpoſition.

One of the young noblemen, the lord of Abergavenny, was ſo fierce and haſty, that no ſervant or gentleman in the family could continue quiet for him: but, when young Perrot came, his lordſhip was told, there was now a youth arrived, who would be more than a match for him. "Is there ſuch a one?" ſaid he. "Let me ſee him." Upon which, being brought where Perrot was, for the firſt ſalutation, he aſked him, "What, "Sir, are you the kill-cow that muſt match "me?" "No," ſaid Mr. Perrot, "I am no "butcher; but, if you uſe me no better, you "ſhall find I can give you a butcher's blow," "Can you ſo?" ſaid he, "I will ſee that." And ſo being both angry, they fell to blows, till lord Abergavenny found himſelf overmatched, and

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was willing to be parted from him; after which, the ſerving men, and others, when they found the young lord unruly, would threaten him with Mr. Perrot.

But this trial of their ſkill produced for a time, a reſpectful behaviour to each other, which ripened into a ſhort lived friendſhip: being founded however, only on a forced reſtraint of their fiery tempers, it was not likely to be permanent. Accordingly, having agreed to make a joint entertainment for their common acquaintance; on the day appointed, they quarrelled, upon what ſubject is not known, and repairing to the buffet, wherein they had provided good ſtore of glaſſes, before their gueſts came, they broke them all about each other's ears, ſo that when they arrived, inſtead of wine, they found blood ſpilled in the chamber, and the reproaches of their mutual friends only ſerved to widen the breach between them.

Shortly after, it was Mr. Perrot's fortune to go into Southwark (as it was ſuppoſed to a houſe of pleaſure) taking only a page with him, where he fell out with two of the king's yeomen. They both drew on him; but he defended himſelf ſo valiantly, that the king, being then at Wincheſter-houſe, near the place, was told how luſtily a young gentleman had fought with two of his majeſty's ſervants. Henry being deſirous to ſee him, ſent for him, demanded his name, country, and kindred. This being boldly by him related, it pleaſed the king very well to ſee ſo much valour and audacity in ſo young a man; and therefore he deſired him to repair to the court, where he would beſtow preferment on him.

It is highly probable, that Perrot took this opportunity of giving the king ſome intimation of his affinity to him; for it will appear by the ſe-

quel, that he all along knew it himself; and it is most likely his mother, in this view, had contrived to get him placed in the house of the marquis of Winchester, a step which a private gentleman of Wales would hardly have thought of, if he had not been influenced by his wife, whose secret motive he could not suspect.

Henry died soon after this interview, and it is beyond a doubt, by the early notice taken of him at the court of Edward VI. that he left some private instructions concerning this youth. For, at the coronation he was made a knight of the Bath; and soon after, when the marquis of Southampton went into France to treat of a marriage betwixt king Edward and the French king's daughter, Sir John Perrot accompanied him.

"The marquis being a nobleman who delighted much in all feats of activity, keeping the most excellent men that could be found for most kinds of sport, the king of France understanding it, engaged him to hunt the wild boar; and, in the chace, it fell out, that a gentleman, charging the boar, did not hit right, so that the beast was ready to run in upon him; upon which Sir John Perrot perceiving him to be in danger, came in to his rescue; and, with a broad sword, gave the boar such a blow as almost parted the head from the shoulders."

"The king of France, who saw this, came presently to him, took him about the middle, and, embracing him, called him *Beau-foile*. Our English knight thinking the king came to try his strength, took his majesty also about the middle, and lifted him up from the ground; with which the king was so far from being displeased, that he offered him a good pension to serve him. To this compliment Sir John Perrot nobly replied, That, he humbly thanked his majesty, but he was a gentleman

tleman that had means of his own; or, if not, he knew he ſerved a gracious prince who would not ſee him want, and to whom he had vowed his ſervice during life."

Shortly after, Sir John returned from France, and reſiding chiefly at court, he lived at ſo extravagant a rate, that he involved himſelf in debt, and could not extricate himſelf, though he mortgaged his eſtate.

Thus reduced, he fell upon a ſtratagem to attract the king's attention to his ſituation. He placed himſelf in a bye-part of the court, where he pretended to think himſelf out of hearing; and there, in a melancholy tone of voice, he began to reproach himſelf for his prodigality, and to argue the caſe with himſelf, whether he ſhould continue at court, or ſeek his fortune in the army. The king, as he very well knew, overheard moſt of his ſoliloquy, having paſſed that way and ſtepped behind him. At length diſcovering himſelf, his majeſty thus accoſted him, "How now, Perrot, "what is the matter that you make this great "moan?" To whom Sir John replied with well affected ſurpriſe, "So pleaſe your majeſty, I did "not think that your highneſs had been there." "Yes," ſaid the king, "we heard you well "enough: and have you ſpent your living in our "ſervice; and is the king ſo young, and under "government, that he cannot give you any thing "in recompence? Spy out ſomewhat, and you "ſhall ſee whether the king hath not power to "beſtow it on you." Then he moſt humbly thanked his majeſty, and ſhortly after found out a concealment of ſome lands or other effects that had been forfeited to the crown, and on his petition the king beſtowed them on him; wherewith he paid the greateſt part of his debts, and ever after became a more frugal manager.

Soon after the acceſſion of queen Mary, Sir John Perrot was committed to the Fleet priſon, for harbouring heretics at his houſe in Wales, but through the intereſt of his friends, and the queen's perſonal favour, he was releaſed, to the great mortification of one Gaderne, his countryman, a bigotted papiſt, who had lodged the information againſt him. Shortly after he went to St. Quintin, where he had a command under the earl of Pembroke; who at this time lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with him; but after their return to England, Sir John ſoon found, that no ties of friendſhip could reſtrain his lordſhip's zeal for popery. The earl being preſident of Wales, received an order from the queen, not to ſuffer any heretics to remain in Wales, and his friend, Sir John Perrot being with him at the time, he required his aſſiſtance in carrying it into execution. Perrot refuſing, on conſcientious principles, a quarrel enſued, which came to blows, and they were never after reconciled.

Intelligence of this affair ſoon reached the court, and the bigotted queen was highly diſpleaſed; inſomuch, that Sir John, having at that time a ſuit for the caſtle and lordſhip of Carew, and a promiſe of the grant being given him; when he came to court ſhe would ſcarce look on him, much leſs give him any good anſwer; which he perceiving, determined not to be baulked with auſtere looks, but preſſed ſo near to the queen, that he fell upon her train, beſeeching her majeſty to remember her promiſe made to him for Carew; wherewith ſhe ſeemed highly offended, and in angry ſort aſked, "What! Perrot, will you offer violence to our "perſon?" Then he beſought of her pardon for his boldneſs; but ſhe departed with much indignation. Yet ſoon after, Sir John Perrot found friends about the queen, who adviſed her to remit what

was

was paſt, and to refer his ſuit to the lords of the privy-council.

When he came before the council to know their pleaſures, whether he ſhould have Carew, according to the queen's promiſe, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter began very ſharply to cenſure him, ſaying, "Sir John Perrot, do you come to ſeek "ſuits of the queen? I tell you, except you alter "your heretical religion, it were more fit the "queen ſhould beſtow faggots than any living on "you?" But, when it came to the turn of the earl of Pembroke to deliver his opinion, he with a truly noble generoſity eſpouſed his cauſe, in the following terms, "My lords, I muſt tell you my "opinion of this man, and of the matter. For "the man, I think he would, at this time, if he "could, eat my heart with ſalt; but yet, not-"withſtanding his ſtomach towards me, I will "give him his due; I hold him to be a man of "good worth, and one who hath deſerved of her "majeſty in her ſervice, as good a matter as this "which he ſeeketh; and will, no doubt, deſerve "better if he reform his religion: therefore, ſince "the queen hath paſſed her gracious promiſe, I ſee "no reaſon but he ſhould have that which he "ſeeketh." When they heard the earl of Pembroke ſo favourable, who they thought would have been moſt vehement againſt him, all the reſt were content; and ſo her majeſty ſhortly after granted him his ſuit.

From this time, the better to avoid all future queſtion concerning his religion, which might put his life in jeopardy, he prudently retired into the country; but his ambition and his hopes revived on the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth, from whom he met with a moſt gracious reception, and he had the honour to aſſiſt at her coronation, being one of the knights who ſupported her canopy of ſtate in

the proceſſion. And in the firſt year of this reign, Sir John was the principal actor in a romantic, rural entertainment, given by the queen and her court, to the French ambaſſador in Greenwich-park. The particulars of which are thus recorded. "Tents being ſet up, and a banquet provided, her majeſty accompanied by the ambaſſador, and the principal officers of her court entered the Park.

"As ſhe paſſed through the gate, a page preſented a ſpeech to her, ſignifying, that there were certain knights come from a far country, who had dedicated their ſervices to their ſeveral miſtreſſes, being ladies for beauty, virtue, and other excellencies, incomparable; and, therefore, they had vowed to advance their fame through the world, and to adventure combat with ſuch as ſhould be ſo hardy as to affirm, that there were any ladies ſo excellent as the ſaints which they ſerved. And, hearing great fame of a lady which kept her court thereabouts, both for her own excellency, and the worthineſs of many renowned knights which ſhe kept, they were come to try, whether any of her knights would encounter them for the defence of the honour of their miſtreſſes.

When this ſpeech was ended, the queen told the page, "Sir Dwarf, you give me very ſhort "warning, but I hope your knights ſhall be "anſwered." And then looking about, ſhe aſked the lord-chamberlain, "Shall we be out-bragged "by a dwarf?" "No, may it pleaſe your majeſty," anſwered he: "Let but a trumpet be ſounded, and "it ſhall be ſeen, that you keep men at arms enough "to anſwer any proud challenge." Then was the trumpet ſounded, and immediately there iſſued out of the eaſt lane at Greenwich, ſeveral penſioners gallantly armed and mounted.

"The challengers were, the earl of Ormond, the lord North, and Sir John Perrot. Preſently, upon

upon their coming forth, the challengers prepared themſelves. Amongſt the reſt, there was one Mr. Cornwallis, to whoſe turn it fell, at length, to run againſt Sir John Perrot. As they both encountered, Sir John, through the unſteadineſs of his horſe, and uncertainty of the courſes in the field, chanced to run Mr. Cornwallis, through the hoſe, razing his thigh, and ſomewhat hurting his horſe; wherewith he being offended, and Sir John diſcontented, as they were both choleric, they fell into a challenge to run with ſharp lances, without armour, in the preſence of the queen; which her majeſty hearing of, ſhe would not ſuffer; ſo they were reconciled, and the combat ended after certain courſes performed on both ſides by the challengers and defendants.

"After finiſhing theſe exerciſes, her majeſty invited the French ambaſſador to partake of the banquet, but a courier arriving, who brought his excellency an account of the tragical end of the king his maſter, Henry II. of France, he craved pardon of her majeſty, and retired."

It is very remarkable, that the French monarch was accidentally killed at a tournament, given on account of the marriage of the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. with Mary queen of Scots; and this melancholy event principally contributed to the ſuppreſſion of theſe warlike entertainments; at one of which, a Turkiſh ambaſſador being preſent, he obſerved, "that if the combatants were "in earneſt, it was not enough; if they were in jeſt, "it was too much." *Hainault's Hiſt. of France.*

From this time to the year 1572, nothing memorable is related concerning our hero, but in that year, his valour and activity were properly employed, not in idle feats of chivalry, but in the ſervice of his country: he was appointed Lord Preſident of the province of Munſter in Ireland.

This

This province was in a desolate condition, having been laid waste by the earl of Desmond and his accomplices, who were in actual rebellion against the queen, as were many other provinces of that kingdom.

But the principal author of the cruel devastations in the province of Munster, was one Fitz-Morris, the earl of Desmond's lieutenant.

Sir John Perrot landed at Waterford the first of March 1572, and three days after, the rebel Fitz-Morris, by way of defiance, burned the town of Kyllmalog, hanged the chief magistrate, and others of the townsmen, at the high cross in the market-place, and carried all the plate and wealth of the town with him; with which entertainment our new president, was much discontented, and therefore he hastened to Dublin to take his oath before the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, in order to qualify him to proceed with vigour, and without delay against this cruel, and arrogant rebel.

Upon his return to Corke, about the tenth of April following, he instantly marched with the forces under his command to Kyllmalog, where he took up his quarters in a house that had been partly burnt down, and then issued a proclamation, inviting all the inhabitants who had fled, to return home; which they did accordingly, and began to build their gates, to repair the town walls, and to rebuild their houses.

After he had properly fortified this place and restored good order and tranquillity, he pursued the rebels from place to place, with such intrepidity and diligence, and with such good fortune, that they never chose to come to a regular, decisive battle with him, only hazarding slight skirmishes, where they had the advantage of situation. "Which, Sir John Perrot observing, he pursued "them night and day without remission, even in "the

" the midſt of winter, and lay out many nights " in the field both in froſt and ſnow, enduring " ſuch hardſhips, as would hardly have been be- " lieved, if two of his followers, men of great " credit, had not related them."

The detail of his military exploits in a rude, uncultivated country, would be both tedious, as well as unintereſting at this diſtant period; we ſhall therefore only mention, that in leſs than the ſpace of a year, by continual purſuits, by harraſſing the rebel army, and by cutting off their communications, ſo that they could not procure ſupplies either of money, ammunition, or proviſions, he entirely diſperſed the power of Fitz-Morris, and made him glad to ſue for pardon, offering to ſubmit himſelf to the queen's mercy. Which at length Sir John Perrot conſented to grant, but in the following humiliating manner, which indeed was a proper puniſhment for a poltroon, who after agreeing to accept a challenge from Sir John to decide the war by ſingle combat, had refuſed to meet him.

Fitz-Morris came to Killmallock, where in the church, the lord-preſident cauſed him to lie proſtrate, putting the point of his ſword to his heart, in token that he had received his life at the queen's hands. Then he took a ſolemn oath to continue a true ſubject to the crown of England, whereby the province of Munſter was reſtored to, and maintained in as good a ſtate of peace and obedience, as any part of Ireland.

The ſeverity he had been obliged to exerciſe in the courſe of his campaigns, in order to put an end to the rebellion, particularly his hanging up ſome merchants, who ſupplied the rebel forces with proviſions and brandy, and his obliging the earl of Thomond, with other Iriſh noblemen, whom he ſuſpected to be ſecret favourers of the rebellion,

rebellion, to follow his camp, occaſioned ſome heavy complaints to be ſent home againſt him, accuſing him of abuſe of authority and arbitrary proceedings. His temper took fire upon the firſt reproofs tranſmitted to him from the miniſtry of England, and following the natural bent of it, without waiting for leave of abſence, he took ſuch ſteps as he judged moſt prudent, for the preſervation of the public peace in Munſter, made up his accounts, and ſuddenly embarked for England in March 1573.

When Sir John Perrot came to court it was thought that the queen would have been highly offended at his coming over without licence. Yet as ſoon as he appeared before her, and had related the ſtate of Ireland, the particulars of his ſervices, and the cauſe of his coming over; her majeſty commended his conduct, and deſired him to return ſpeedily to his charge, leſt in his abſence ſome diſturbance might ariſe. To which Sir John anſwered, That for the general ſtate of the province, it was ſo well ſettled, that no new commotion on a ſudden need to be feared. Yet there were many particulars which might be amended without any great difficulty: which being allowed by her highneſs, he was ready to ſerve her there, whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe her to appoint him. And that the ſame might be the better underſtood, he preſented a plan to the queen to be conſidered by her majeſty, and her privy-council.

In general, it contained many excellent regulations, but the carrying ſome of them into execution, was likely to be attended with greater inconveniences than thoſe he intended to remove, and he himſelf owned the difficulty of accompliſhing ſome points; the fact is, he was a better ſoldier than a ſtateſman; but being unable to brook oppoſition, on the council's rejecting his plan, he

deſired

desired leave to retire for his health to his estate in Wales.

Sir John Perrot had enjoyed his retirement but a few years, when upon intelligence that Fitz-Morris, since his submission, had been in Spain, and procured the promise of ships and men to invade Ireland, especially the province of Munster, the queen and her privy-council sent for him to take the command of such ships and pinnaces as should be made ready to intercept, or interrupt the Spanish fleet and forces which were designed for Ireland. Sir John made such speed in his journey, that he came from Pembrokeshire to Greenwich in less than three days. The queen, when she saw him, told him, she thought he had not heard from her so soon: "Yes, madam, answered he, and have made as much haste as I "might to come unto your majesty. So methinks, said the queen, but how have you done "to settle your affairs in the country? May it "please your majesty, said Sir John, I have taken "this care for all; that setting private business "aside, in respect of your majesty's service, I "have appointed the white sheep to keep the "black: for I may well enough venture them, "when I am willing to venture my life in your "majesty's service." With which answer the queen was well pleased, and she conferred with him privately for some time; then dismissed him, and appointed him to receive farther directions for that service from the lords of her privy-council.

After this interview with the queen, he prepared for his expedition with all convenient speed, and the fleet being ready, Sir John left London about August, 1578, and went from thence in his barge, accompanied by several noblemen and gentlemen. As they lay against Greenwich, where the queen kept

kept her court, Sir John ſent one of his gentlemen on ſhore, with a diamond, as a token to Mrs. Blanch Parry, willing him to tell her, that a diamond coming unlooked for, did always bring good luck with it: which the queen hearing, ſent Sir John a fair jewel hung by a white cypreſs; ſignifying, that as long as he wore that for her ſake, ſhe believed, with God's help, he ſhould have no harm. The meſſage and jewel Sir John received joyfully, and he returned anſwer to the queen, "That he would wear that for his ſovereign's ſake, "and doubted not, with God's favour, to return "her ſhips in ſafety, and either to bring the Spa- "niards (if they came in his way) as priſoners, "or elſe to ſink them in the ſeas." As Sir John paſſed by in his barge, the queen looking out at the window ſhook her fan, and put out her hand towards him, upon which he made a low obeyſance, while he put the ſcarf and jewel about his neck; and then repaired to his ſquadron, which was riding at anchor off Gillingham, and conſiſted of three ſhips of the line and three pinnaces; he ſailed from thence to the Downs, and paſſing by Falmouth and Plymouth put to ſea for Ireland, where they arrived at Baltimore, a ſea-port town in the province of Munſter. The people in grateful remembrance of his former government of this country, appeared in great numbers upon the ſhore, upon his landing, ſome embracing his legs, and others preſſing to touch any part of the body of their deliverer from the cruelties of Deſmond and Fitz-Morris, but theſe marks of their affection had nearly produced fatal conſequences, for the vice-admiral, miſtaking them for ſome hoſtile intention, had pointed his guns to fire upon them, which Sir John perceiving, inſtantly ſent off a boat with proper ſignals, to invite him on ſhore, where they were kindly entertained.

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The ſquadron remained on the coaſt till the ſeaſon was far advanced, and intelligence was received that the Spaniards had laid aſide their deſign for that year, when it was ordered home. In the courſe of his voyage, Sir John met with one Derryfield, a noted pirate, whom he took, but in the chace he very narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck: and a ſecond accident happened to him on entering the Downs, when his ſhip ſtruck on the Kentiſh-knocks, from which ſhe was got off, with great difficulty.

Sir John Perrot was graciouſly received at court, and permitted to retire to his eſtate in Wales; but the affairs of Ireland ſtill remained in a turbulent, unſettled ſtate, except in the province of Munſter; in other parts, rebellion and lawleſs licentiouſneſs deſtroyed all order, and rendered private property, as well as the lives of the inhabitants, inſecure: in this ſituation of things, Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, who had found that poſt full of trouble and danger, without any proportion of reputation or profit, ſolicited leave to reſign; and having obtained it, Sir William Drury was advanced to that dignity; and in 1579, the firſt year of his adminiſtration, the Spaniards, to the number of 1500, made a deſcent on the coaſt, and joined the rebels under the earl of Deſmond; but they were all taken priſoners, and put to the ſword the following year, and Deſmond ſuffered death as a traitor; yet his party continued to carry on the rebellion in his name. In ſhort, the troubles of the country increaſing daily, and no commander being to be found of equal intrepidity and capacity for his ſervice, Sir John Perrot, by the advice of Walſingham, who continually correſponded with him on Iriſh affairs, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland in 1583; and taking with him the earl of Ormond, a veteran in the Iriſh ſervice, and who beſides had great

great intereſt there, he embarked at Milford-haven, and arrived at Dublin in the ſpring of the year.

Sir John Perrot, before his departure, had drawn up a plan for the government of Ireland, which had been approved by the queen and council; and as the kingdom was confeſſedly in a ſtate of anarchy, which required ſevere meaſures to reſtore tranquillity, the approbation given at this time to his plan, is a juſtification of his character, in a great meaſure, from the imputations of arbitrary and cruel conduct, which we ſhall find hereafter laid to his charge.

As if there had been magic in his very name, his landing in Ireland ſtruck the rebels of every faction with a panic; but when it was known that he propoſed to make a progreſs through the country, many conſiderable parties came to Dublin, and made their ſubmiſſion, taking the oaths to the queen, and giving hoſtages for their future good behaviour.

But O'Neale, O'Donnel, Conaught, and ſeveral other conſiderable Iriſh chiefs, ſtill remained in arms, and were ſupported from Rome by the pope with money, while the Spaniards occaſionally landed ſmall detachments of men, headed by veteran officers, to diſcipline the raw Iriſh rebels.

A reſolution therefore, which had been taken in England to proceed in a ſummary way with the rebels, both with reſpect to their perſons and their eſtates, was carried into execution with great rigour, and many innocent perſons ſuffering with the guilty, this raiſed a great clamour againſt the lord deputy, who was charged with exceeding the bounds of his commiſſion. His commiſſion impowered him to execute the rebels as traitors by martial law, when found in arms, and to ſell their eſtates on the ſpot to any adventurers, at eaſy rates, who would undertake to cultivate and improve the land:

land: this brought over many followers of fortune from England, men often of bad characters, but poſſeſſed of money to buy the forfeited eſtates; and the lord Deputy was accuſed of favouring the rapacity of theſe purchaſers, and of hanging ſome conſiderable men, whoſe guilt was not very apparent, in his choler, that he might put an end to the rebellion on their extenſive eſtates, by the ſale of the lands to Engliſh purchaſers. The charges however, though vague and ill-ſupported, were founded upon the abuſes of the purchaſers. Whole baronies were expoſed to ſale (into which the Iriſh counties are divided, as the Engliſh are into hundreds) and the new proprietors turned the innocent Iriſh as well as the guilty out of their poſſeſſions. Yet the meaſure was political, for the chiefs, ſeeing that they ſhould not only ruin themſelves, but all their poſterity, by remaining in arms againſt the queen, came in bodies to the lord deputy on his progreſs, to ſurrender in time, particularly O'Neale and all his adherents, and the lords of Ulſter, who upon their knees ſwore fidelity to the queen, and gave hoſtages, that they would raiſe troops for her ſervice againſt the other rebels.

But Sir John Perrot's temper was ſuited only to the field; his haughtineſs and impatience of controul in the council, made him unfit for the milder duties of civil government; and therefore every remonſtrance from the queen and her miniſtry, founded on complaints ſent home againſt him, exaſperated him beyond meaſure; and upon theſe occaſions, he would vent his wrath in the moſt diſreſpectful and indecent terms, forgetting not only his duty to her Majeſty as his ſovereign, but even the decorum due to her ſex.

Theſe unguarded expreſſions were taken down in writing by Williamſon his ſecretary, who had been bought over by the lord chancellor of Ireland

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and by the archbiſhop of Dublin, who ſent over an impeachment againſt him, little regarded by him; for he relied ſo much on the merit of his military ſervices, that he did not take any pains to ſecure any evidences in Ireland, to appear in his favour.

At length however, partly owing to the delicate ſituation of affairs, and partly to his own haughty diſpoſition, he diſpleaſed the Engliſh as well as the Iriſh; for the queen having ſent over a proclamation to repreſs the rapaciouſneſs of the former, with reſpect to abuſes in the purchaſes and poſſeſſion of the forfeited eſtates, he executed it with ſuch rigour, that the country reaped the benefit, many of the natives being re-inſtated; but it made the Engliſh outrageous againſt him: and as to the Iriſh nobility, their neareſt relations having been either executed by him, or deprived of their eſtates, they ſecretly ſought his ruin; in a word, he met with the fate of all conquerors, he was deteſted; but he had this conſolation, that he did not conquer for himſelf, but for his ſovereign, who certainly ſhould have over looked his paſſionate temper, in conſideration of his delivering her from very imminent danger, the rebels in Ireland being all along ſupported by her foreign and domeſtic enemies. At the ſame time, Sir John Perrot was highly culpable for ſlighting the rebukes he received from England upon ſome occaſions, and for reſenting them at others, inſtead of condeſcending to juſtify himſelf in his diſpatches. At length, the diſcontent againſt him ran ſo high in Ireland, and the queen herſelf was ſo diſpleaſed with his ill-behaviour to her, that ſhe recalled him in 1588. And this led him into another error, the conſequence of his proud ſpirit; inſtead of embarking for London, and making uſe of his remaining intereſt at court, he ſet ſail from Dublin for his caſtle

of

of Carew in Pembrokeſhire, and arrived there with a numerous and ſplendid retinue.

Such a ſtep could not fail of alarming the queen, eſpecially as it was now reported, and afterwards made an article of his impeachment, that he held a ſecret correſpondence with the duke of Parma and the queen's foreign enemies.

The articles ſent over from Ireland, were therefore laid before the privy council, the attorney-general was ordered to prepare an indictment of high-treaſon upon them, and he was taken into cuſtody: at firſt, he was brought to the lord treaſurer's houſe, and confined there, but how long is uncertain; nor are we able to account for a ſpace of near four years, between his arrival at the caſtle of Carew and his trial: all that we can find on record is, that he was committed to the Tower, and from thence brought to his trial, on the 27th of April, 1592, in Weſtminſter-hall, a ſpecial commiſſion being granted for that purpoſe to the lord chancellor, and the two chief juſtices.

The only charge proved againſt him was, his having treated the perſon and character of the queen contumelioufly; but by the artful management of Popham the attorney-general, who admitted men of the moſt abandoned principles and characters to be evidences againſt him, he was convicted upon the other articles of the accuſation, which were, that he had relieved popiſh prieſts—that he held a ſecret correſpondence with the queen's foreign enemies—and that he had foſtered the commotions in Ireland; nothing could be more abſurd than the laſt article, ſince it was evident to the contrary, that Ireland had never been in ſuch a ſtate of tranquillity and of allegiance to the queen, as when he preſided over it. But the true motive of his condemnation was, his own imprudent

imprudent boaſtings, that he was the queen's brother, that ſhe knew his value in Ireland too well to let him fall a ſacrifice to his friſking adverſaries; and that whenever the Spaniards landed a force in Ireland to join the diſaffected there, he ſhould then be cheriſhed again, and be once more, one of her white boys.

In a word, finding he had deceived himſelf by an ill-grounded confidence in the ſecret of his birth, and his great military ſervices, his violent paſſions, after ſentence of death was paſſed on him, which happened in June, preyed on his conſtitution, and in September following he died in the Tower, and left it doubtful whether Elizabeth intended to have pardoned him.

Thus fell Sir John Perrot, the introducer of military diſcipline amongſt the natives of Ireland; and thus have we given a ſhort ſketch of the ſtate of affairs in that kingdom, the better to complete our annals of the reign of Elizabeth.

*** *Authorities.* Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland. Life of Sir John Perrot, edit. 1728. Biog. Britan. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt.

The

The LIFE of

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

[A. D. 1545, to 1596.]

THIS celebrated Engliſh navigator, and brave naval officer, was the ſon of Edmund Drake, a mariner, and was born at a village near Taviſtock in Devonſhire, in the year 1545. He was the eldeſt of twelve brethren, and the father being diſtreſſed by ſo large a family, captain Hawkins, his mother's relation, (afterwards the famous admiral Sir John Hawkins) whoſe life immediately ſucceeds that of his ward, kindly took him under his patronage, and gave him an education ſuitable to the ſea ſervice. Through the intereſt of his patron, at the age of eighteen, he was made purſer of a ſhip trading to the Bay of Biſcay. At twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea; at the age of twenty-two, he was appointed captain of the Judith; and, in that capacity, he was in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico; where he behaved very gallantly in the glorious action under Sir John Hawkins; and returned with him to England with a riſing reputation, but totally deſtitute, having loſt the little property he had acquired in his former ſtation, by this unfortunate expedition.

Soon

Soon after this, he conceived a design of making reprisals on the king of Spain; which, according to some, was put into his head by the chaplain of the ship: and, indeed, the case was clear in sea-divinity, says Dr. Campbell, "that the subjects of the king of Spain had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore he was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on them in return." This doctrine, however roughly preached, was very taking in England; and, therefore, no sooner did he publish his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though not actuated by the same motives, and without any such pretence to colour their proceedings as he had.

In 1570, he made his first voyage with two ships, the Dragon and the Swan; and the next year, in the Swan alone: from which last expedition he returned safe, if not rich. Though we have no particular account of these two voyages, or what Drake performed in them, yet nothing is clearer than that captain Drake had two great points in view: the one was, to inform himself perfectly of the situation and strength of certain places in the Spanish West-Indies; the other, to convince his countrymen, that, notwithstanding what had happened to captain Hawkins, in his last voyage, it was a thing very practicable to sail into these parts, and return in safety: for it is to be observed, that Hawkins and Drake separated in the West-Indies; and, that the former, finding it impossible to bring all his crew home to England, had set part of them, with their own consent, ashore in the bay of Mexico; and, indeed, few of these finding their way home, the terror of such a captivity as they were known to endure, had disheartened our seamen. But captain Drake, in these two voyages, having very wisely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home sufficient returns to satisfy his owners,

owners, diſſipated theſe apprehenſions, and eſtabliſhed his own character: ſo that, at his return from his ſecond voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raiſe ſuch a force as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, which otherwiſe he would never have been able to effect.

And, therefore, without loſs of time, he laid the plan of a more important deſign; which he put in execution on the 25th of March, 1572: for, on that day, he ſailed from Plymouth, in a ſhip called the Paſeta, burden ſeventy tons; and his brother, John Drake, in the Swan, of twenty-five tons; their whole ſtrength conſiſting of only ſeventy-three men and boys: but they were all provided with ammunition and proviſions, and in caſe of an accident happening to either of the ſhips, or an occaſion preſenting of approaching nearer to any place, than the ſhips could lie, they had three pinnaces on board, framed and fitted in ſuch a dextrous manner, that they could eaſily be put together, by the ſhip-carpenters, when wanted: and with this ſmall armament, on the 22d of July, in the year following, they attacked the town of Nombre de Dios, which then ſerved the Spaniards for the ſame purpoſes as Porto-Bello does now. He took it in a few hours by ſtorm, but they made little or no advantage of this conqueſt, owing to the cowardice of part of his followers, who were ordered to guard the pinnaces, while the reſt were taking poſſeſſion of the immenſe wealth contained in the king's treaſury; in one room they ſaw bars of ſilver piled up againſt the wall: as near as they could gueſs, each bar weighing about thirty or forty pounds, and the pile meaſuring 70 feet in length, 10 in breadth, and 12 in height: but the town being ſtill full of people, the Engliſh ſailors in the pinnaces miſtook the flying parties, for large detachments,

tachments, who were coming to overpower them, and to cut off their communication with their ſhips.

Drake however, ſent his brother to pacify them; but nearly at the ſame time, this gallant officer fainted with loſs of blood from a dangerous wound he had received in his leg, during the aſſault, which he had till then carefully concealed, that he might not diſhearten his people: upon his recovery, he inſiſted on completing their victory, by making themſelves maſters of the treaſure; but the major part of his followers, apprehenſive for their own ſafety, in caſe they ſhould loſe their commander, partly by intreaties and partly by force, carried him off to the pinnaces, and then ſet ſail for the ſhips, content with the ſpoils they had taken, but abandoning the richeſt, ſays Lediard, that ever raiſed the expectations of ſuch adventurers, amounting, as they were afterwards informed, to 360 tons of ſilver, beſides ſeveral iron cheſts of gold, of far greater value.

His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with ſilver, which paſſed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this too he failed: however, attacking the former town, he carried it, and got ſome little plunder. In their return, they unexpectedly met with fifty mules laden with plate; of which they carried off as much as poſſible, and buried the reſt. In theſe enterpriſes he was very greatly aſſiſted by a nation of Indians, perpetually engaged in war with the Spaniards. The prince, or captain of this tribe, whoſe name was Pedro, captain Drake preſented with a fine cutlaſs, which he ſaw the Indian admired. In return, Pedro gave him four large wedges of gold; which captain Drake threw into the common ſtock, ſaying, he thought it but juſt, that ſuch as bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage, on his credit, ſhould ſhare all the advantages

tages that voyage produced. Then embarking his men, with a very conſiderable booty, he bore away for England; and, in twenty-three days, ſailed from Cape Florida to the iſles of Scilly; and from thence arrived ſafe at Plymouth in Auguſt 1573.

His ſucceſs in this expedition, joined to his generous behaviour to his owners, gained him great reputation; and, in 1575, fitting out three frigates at his own expence, he ſailed with them to Ireland; where, in the capacity of a volunteer, under Walter earl of Eſſex, the father of the unfortunate favourite, he performed many gallant exploits, and was ſo highly in favour with the earl, that he recommended him to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain to the queen, in a letter written but a ſhort time before his death, which ſerved him as an introduction to her Majeſty in 1576, who from this time took him under her own immediate protection. Thus countenanced at court, his fellow-citizens were ſtill more animated to engage in any adventure he ſhould project, and he was enabled to undertake that grand expedition which will immortalize his name. The firſt thing he propoſed was a voyage into the South-Seas, through the Straits of Magellan, hitherto unattempted by any Engliſhman. This project was well received at court, and captain Drake ſoon ſaw himſelf at the height of his wiſhes; for, in his former voyage, having had a diſtant proſpect of the South-Seas, he ardently prayed to God that he might ſail an Engliſh ſhip in them; which now he found an opportunity of attempting.

The ſmall fleet with which he ſailed on this extraordinary enterprize, conſiſted of the following ſhips: viz. The Pelican, of 100 tons, commanded by himſelf; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, of 80 tons, under the command of captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of 50 tons, under captain

John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of 30 tons; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of 15 tons, under captain Thomas Moon. In this fleet the whole number of hands embarked, amounted to no more than 164 able men, with all neceſſary proviſions for ſo long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which was, however, not publicly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though it was generally ſuſpected, and many knew, that it was deſigned for America.

On the 15th of November 1577, captain Drake ſailed from Plymouth, but was forced, by a violent ſtorm, into Falmouth, in a very bad condition; but ſuch was his activity and diligence, that he put to ſea again, on the 13th of December; on the 25th of the ſame month, he fell in with the coaſt of Barbary; and, on the 29th, with Cape de Verd. The 13th of March he paſſed the line; the 5th of April he made the coaſt of Brazil, in 30° N. lat. and entered the river de la Plata, where he miſſed the Swan, and the pinnace; but, meeting them again, and taking out all their hands, and the proviſions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the 29th of May, he entered the port of St. Julian, to take in proviſions.

After he had continued about two months in port St. Julian, lying within one degree of the Streights of Magellan, to make the neceſſary preparations for paſſing the Streights with ſafety, on a ſudden having carried the principal perſons engaged in the ſervice to a deſart iſland lying in the bay, he called a court-martial, where he opened his commiſſion; by which the queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered to him with this remarkable expreſſion from her own mouth: "We do account that he, Drake, who ſtrikes at thee, does ſtrike at us." He then laid open, with great eloquence, the cauſe of the aſſembly; for though his

his education had been ſlender, he was an excellent ſpeaker, and proceeded to charge Mr. John Doughty, who had been ſecond in command during the whole voyage, firſt, with plotting to murder him, and then to ruin the enterprize.

"I had," ſaid he, "the firſt notice of this gentleman's intentions before he left England, but was in hopes his behaviour to him would have extinguiſhed ſuch diſpoſitions, if there had been any truth in the information."

He then appealed for his behaviour to the whole aſſembly, and to the gentleman accuſed: he next expoſed his practices from the time they left England, while he behaved towards him with all the kindneſs and cordiality of a brother; ſupporting his charge by producing papers under his own hand; on which Mr. Doughty made a full and free confeſſion. After this, the captain, or, as he was then called, the general, quitted the place, telling the aſſembly he expected that they ſhould paſs a verdict upon him; for he would be no judge in his own cauſe.

Camden ſays he was tried by a jury. The accounts affirm, that the whole forty perſons of which the court conſiſted, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and ſeals, leaving the time and manner of it to the general. Upon this, captain Drake, having maturely weighed the whole affair, gave Mr. Doughty his choice of three things. Firſt, to be executed on the iſland where they were; ſecondly, to be ſet aſhore on the main land; or, laſtly, to be ſent home to abide the juſtice of his country. After deſiring till next day to conſider of theſe, he declared, that he made the firſt his choice; and, having received the ſacrament with the general, from the hands of Mr. Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the fleet, in the morning, and dined chearfully with the officers, of whom he ſe-

verally took leave, as if he had been going a journey: dinner being ended, he walked very composedly to the place prepared for his execution, and submitting to his fate with aſtoniſhing fortitude and ſerenity, he was beheaded, in July 1578.

This is the moſt authentic account of his cataſtrophe; but as it was well known, that the earl of Leiceſter bore a mortal hatred to Doughty, for having accuſed him of poiſoning Walter earl of Eſſex, it was credited by many at the time, and has been tranſmitted to us, by ſome hiſtorians, that Drake had ſecret orders from Leiceſter, then in power, to take him off, on ſome pretence or other, and that being both a ſkilful mariner and a man of great courage and conduct, Drake, jealous of his riſing fame, readily conſented to execute this ſecret, bloody commiſſion. But as the imputation is not ſupported by any evidence, the moſt humane and candid method, in all ſuch caſes, is, to try the accuſation by the general character of the accuſed. On this equitable ſyſtem, Drake muſt ſtand acquitted, and his accuſers be conſidered as calumniators.

This iſland had been the ſcene of another tragedy of the ſame kind, 58 years before, when Magellan cauſed John de Carthagena, who was joined in commiſſion with him by the king of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence; and from hence it was called the iſland of *true juſtice*.

Drake left St. Julian on the 17th of Auguſt, on the 20th he entered the Streights of Magellan, and after a difficult navigation he paſſed them on the 25th of September, and found himſelf in the Great South-Sea. Here he met with ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that he was forced back to the weſtward near 100 leagues, and the Marygold, captain Thomas, was loſt. Near the 57th degree of ſouth-latitude, he entered a bay, where he found a naked

a naked people, ranging from one island to another in canoes, in search of provisions. Sailing northward from thence, on the 3d of October, he found three islands, in one of which was an extraordinary plenty of birds. On the 8th, he lost sight of the Elizabeth, captain John Winter, who returned through the Streights, and arrived safe in England, on the 2d of June 1579, being the first ship that ever made that passage homewards.

Captain Drake had now only his own ship, which he had new named the Hind, with which he arrived at Macao, on the 25th of November 1578; and from thence sailing along the coasts of Chili and Peru, he greatly annoyed the Spaniards, taking and destroying several ships, and frequently landing to seize on rich booties, till his crew were satiated with plunder; (the particulars of this cruize are to be found at large in Lediard's Naval History) when he boldly attempted to find a passage by North America, sailing to the latitude of 42 degrees; but then meeting with severe cold, and open shores covered with snow, he returned back to 38 degrees of latitude, and there put into a harbour in the north part of California, where he was kindly received by the Indian inhabitants, who were so highly pleased with him, that they offered to make him their king.

To this country, Drake gave the name of *New Albion*; and erecting a stone pillar, he placed an inscription thereon, with the name, style, and titles of queen Elizabeth, denoting his having taken possession of the country for his sovereign; to which was added his own name, and the date of this transaction; some of the queen's coin were likewise deposited under its base; and then, after careening his ship, he set sail for the Molucca islands. He chose this passage round, rather than to return by the Streights of Magellan; partly from the

danger of being attacked by the Spaniards, and partly from the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, when dreadful ſtorms and hurricanes were to be apprehended.

On the 13th of October, 1579, Drake fell in with certain iſlands, inhabited by the moſt barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the 4th of November he had ſight of the Moluccas; and, coming to the iſland of Ternate, was extremely well received by the king of that iſland, who ſeems to have been a wiſe and polite prince. On the 10th of December he made Celebes, where his ſhip ſtruck upon a rock, on the 9th of January, 1580, from which ſhe was got off with great difficulty, after being in the utmoſt peril for twenty-ſeven hours, and under the neceſſity of throwing over-board eight of her guns, and ſome valuable merchandize. Then touching at Java, where he received great civilities from one of the kings of the iſland, he continued his courſe for the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to Rio Grande in Negroland; where taking in water, he ſet ſail for England, and arrived ſafe at Plymouth, on the 25th of September, 1580; having ſailed round the globe, in leſs than three years, to the great admiration of the people of thoſe times.

Drake's ſucceſs in this voyage, and the immenſe treaſure he brought home with him, became the general topic of converſation, ſome highly commending, and others as loudly cenſuring him. In this uncertainty matters continued during the remainder of this year, and the ſpring of the next; when, at length, on the 4th of April, her Majeſty going to Deptford, went on board Drake's ſhip; where, after dinner, ſhe conferred the honour of knighthood on him, and declared her abſolute approbation of all he had done. She alſo gave directions for the preſervation of his ſhip, that it might remain a monument in honour of himſelf

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and his country. But this famous veſſel, which, for many years, had been viewed with admiration at Deptford, being decayed, was at length broken up, and a chair made out of the planks was preſented, by John Davies, Eſq; to the univerſity of Oxford, where it is ſtill preſerved.

In the year 1585, Sir Francis, now admiral Drake, was ſent on an expedition againſt the Spaniſh Weſt-India ſettlements, with a fleet of twenty-one ſail, having on board 2000 land-forces, under the command of Chriſtopher Carliſle. Taking the Cape Verd iſlands in their way, they landed at St. Jago, and taking the chief town of the ſame name, they ſacked it, and carried off a conſiderable booty. From thence they proceeded to Hiſpaniola, and took St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Auguſtine; by which he exceeded the moſt ſanguine hopes of his warmeſt friends. Yet the profits of this voyage were but moderate, Sir Francis's inſtructions being, rather to weaken the enemy, than to take prizes.

Two years after, he proceeded to Liſbon with a fleet of thirty ſail; and, receiving intelligence of a conſiderable fleet aſſembled in the bay of Cadiz, intended to make part of the Spaniſh armada, he bravely entered that port, and burnt upwards of ten thouſand tons of ſhipping: then, having advice of a large Caracca ſhip expected at the iſland of Tercera from the Eaſt-Indies, he ſailed thither; and, though his men were in great want of proviſions, he prevailed on them to go through thoſe hardſhips for a few days; in which time the Eaſt-India ſhip arriving, he took and carried her home in triumph: this capture was of very great importance; for, beſides the value of the treaſure on board, eſtimated at 200,000 crowns, it gave the Engliſh merchants the firſt idea of the profitable traffic carried on with the Eaſt-Indies, and was

the occaſion of eſtabliſhing the firſt Eaſt-India company.

The general applauſe beſtowed on him, when he returned from this glorious expedition, was heightened into grateful admiration, when it was obſerved, what a laudable uſe he made of the wealth he had acquired from the enemies of his country.

In the year 1588, Sir Francis undertook to convey water to the town of Plymouth, for want of which, till then, it was greatly diſtreſſed; and performed it by bringing thither a ſtream from ſprings at the diſtance of eight miles, if the diſtance be meaſured in a ſtrait line; but in the manner by which he conducted it, the courſe it runs is upwards of twenty miles.

This year alſo, he was appointed vice-admiral under lord Charles Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England, and ſignalized himſelf in the engagements with the Spaniſh Armada: here he was as fortunate as ever, for he took a very large galleon, commanded by don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded without ſtriking a blow at the bare mention of his name. This don Pedro remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's priſoner in England, and, when he was releaſed, he paid him for himſelf and his two captains, a ranſom of 3500*l.* In his ſhip were found upwards of 50,000 ducats, which he generouſly diſtributed among his ſailors and ſoldiers. It muſt, however, be owned, that, through an overſight of his, the admiral ran a great hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake was appointed, the firſt night of the engagement, to carry lights in his ſhip for the direction of the Engliſh fleet; but, being in purſuit of ſome hulks belonging to the Hans-towns, he neglected it; which occaſioned the admiral's following the Spaniſh lights, and in the morning he found himſelf in the centre of the enemy's fleet. But his ſucceeding ſervices ſufficiently

ficiently atoned for this overſight, the greateſt execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by his ſquadron. But of this boaſted Armada, and its defeat, a more ſatisfactory account will be found in the life of the lord high admiral Howard.

In 1589, Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral of the fleet ſent to reſtore don Antonio, king of Portugal, and the command of the land-forces was given to Sir John Norris. But the fleet was ſcarce at ſea before the commanders differed; on this occaſion the general was earneſt for landing at the Groyne, whereas the admiral and ſea-officers were for ſailing directly to Liſbon; in which, had their advice been taken, doubtleſs their enterprize had ſucceeded, and Don Antonio been reſtored; for the enemy made ſuch good uſe of the time in fortifying Liſbon, that no impreſſion could be made. Sir John, indeed, marched by land to Liſbon, and Sir Francis promiſed to ſail up the river with his whole fleet; but, upon perceiving the conſequences, he choſe rather to break his word than hazard the queen's navy; for which he was highly reproached by Norris, and the miſcarriage of the whole affair imputed to the failure in his promiſe. Yet Sir Francis fully juſtified himſelf on his return; for, he ſhewed the queen and council, that whatever was done there, for the credit of the nation, was performed ſolely by the fleet, and by his orders; in conſequence of which, a large fleet, laden with naval ſtores from the Hans-towns, was taken, with a great quantity of ammunition and artillery on board: that his ſailing up the river of Liſbon would have ſignified nothing to the taking the caſtle, which was two miles off; and that, without reducing it, there was no taking the city.

The war with Spain ſtill continuing in 1595, and it being evident that nothing diſtreſſed the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in the Weſt-

Weſt-Indies, an offer was made to the queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, to ſet on foot a more effectual expedition to thoſe parts than had hitherto been attempted; at the ſame time, they agreed to bear a great part of the expence, and to engage their friends to aſſiſt them. The queen readily liſtened to this propoſal, and furniſhed a ſtout ſquadron of ſhips of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins, embarked. Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, having on board a land-force, conſiſting of 2500 men. The fleet was detained ſome time after it was ready, on the Engliſh coaſts, by the arts of the Spaniards, who receiving intelligence of its ſtrength and deſtination, gave out, that they were ready themſelves to invade England; and to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four gallies to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Cornwall. This had the deſired effect, for the queen and the nation being thereby alarmed, thought it by no means adviſeable to ſend ſo great a number of ſhips on ſo long a voyage, at that critical juncture. At laſt, this alarm blowing over, the fleet ſet ſail; but when out at ſea, the admirals differed: Drake and Baſkerville, the commander of the land-forces, determined, againſt the advice of Hawkins, to attack the chief of the Canary Iſlands, inſtead of proceeding directly to Porto Rico, where the richeſt of the galleons lay at anchor: the failure of the deſign on the Canary Iſlands, ſhewed, that Hawkins was right, for they could not recover the time they loſt there.

The day after the death of admiral Hawkins, in whoſe life will be found further particulars of the expedition, Sir Francis made his deſperate attack on the ſhipping in the harbour of Porto Rico, in purſuance of a reſolution taken by a council of war. This was performed with all imaginable cou-

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rage, and with conſiderable loſs to the Spaniards, but with little advantage to the Engliſh, who, meeting with a ſtronger reſiſtance and better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to ſheer off. The admiral then ſteered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hache, which, (a church and a lady's houſe excepted) he burnt to the ground. After this, deſtroying ſome other villages, he proceeded to Santa Martha, which he alſo burned. Nombre de Dios, finally ſhared the ſame fate, the Spaniards refuſing to ranſom theſe places; and in them an inconſiderable booty was taken. On the 29th of December, Sir Thomas Baſkerville, commander of the troops, marched with 750 men towards Panama, but returned on the 2d of January, finding the deſign of reducing that place wholly impracticable: ſo that the whole of this expedition was a ſeries of misfortunes. If they had gone at firſt to Porto Rico, they had done the queen's buſineſs and their own: if, when they had intelligence of the Spaniſh ſuccours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the Iſthmus, in order to have executed their deſigns againſt Panama, before their forces had been weakened by that deſperate attack, they might poſſibly have accompliſhed their firſt intention; but graſping at too many things ſpoiled all.

A very ſtrong ſenſe of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a deep melancholy; and brought on a bloody flux, the natural diſeaſe of the country, which put a period to his uſeful life. His body, according to the cuſtom of the ſea, was ſunk very near the place, where he firſt laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. Such was the end of this great man. His death was lamented by the whole nation, but more eſpecially by thoſe of his native place, who had great reaſons to love him from the circumſtances of his private life, as well

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as to eſteem him in his public character. He had been elected burgeſs for the town of Boſſiney in Cornwall, in the parliament held the twenty-ſeventh of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards for Plymouth in Devonſhire, in the thirty-fifth of the ſame reign. Having hitherto chiefly confined ourſelves to his public tranſactions, it may not be unacceptable to add a few words concerning his perſon and his private character.

He was low of ſtature, but well ſet, had a broad open cheſt, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a freſh chearful and engaging countenance: as navigation had been his whole ſtudy, he was a perfect maſter in every branch of it, eſpecially aſtronomy, and the application of it to the nautical art. His voyage round the world is an inconteſtable proof of his courage, capacity, patience, and public ſpirit; ſince he performed every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own private advantage: and it is apparent, that if Sir Francis Drake amaſſed a large fortune by continually expoſing himſelf to labours and perils, which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the ſake even of the greateſt expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private ſpirit: on the contrary, his notions were free and noble; and the nation ſtands indebted to him for many advantages which ſhe at preſent enjoys, in arms, navigation, and commerce.

He is repreſented as having been choleric in his temper, and too fond of flattery; but to counterbalance theſe foibles, he was a ſteady friend, and very liberal to thoſe who ſerved under him: it is alſo obſerved, that in his proſperity he was always affable and eaſy of acceſs.

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This great man left no iſſue, and his landed eſtate, which was very conſiderable, deſcended to his nephew, Francis (the ſon of his brother Thomas) who was created a baronet in the reign of James I.

*** *Authorities.* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Biog. Britan. Rapin's Hiſt. of England.

The LIFE of

Sir JOHN HAWKINS.

[A. D. 1520, to 1598.]

Including Memoirs of Sir RICHARD HAWKINS, his Son, and of Sir MARTIN FROBISHER.

THE improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation towards the cloſe of the fifteenth, and early in the ſixteenth century, and the viſible effects they had produced in aggrandizing that kingdom, excited a noble ſpirit of emulation in other nations to attempt diſcoveries by ſea, in the then unknown regions of the globe; and in this deſign, no people manifeſted ſuch a genius for bold and hazardous enterpriſes on the ocean as the Engliſh: but their ardour and indefatigable induſtry being checked by domeſtic troubles during the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Mary, the plans which had been formed in private, for extending the maritime power and commerce of England, could

could not be carried into execution with any proſpect of national ſucceſs, till the conſtitution itſelf, new modelled, with reſpect to its religious eſtabliſhment, had acquired a proper degree of ſtrength, and the government was in a capacity to prevent a revolution meditated and threatened by its foreign foes and domeſtic traitors.

The ſucceſsful navigations, therefore, of our countrymen, which ended in permanent commercial ſettlements, began late in the ſixteenth century, and their fortunate iſſue was owing to a variety of concurrent circumſtances, which deſerve our notice.

The private adventures of the merchants of Southampton, who had traded to the Brazils as early as 1540, had thrown a great light upon the nature of the profitable trade carried on by the Spaniards from the Weſt-Indies, and the South-Seas, with Europe; and had laid open the ſources of their immenſe wealth.

The accounts brought home by the ſailors and maſters of the merchant-ſhips employed in carrying on the trade to Brazil, circulated through the weſt of England; and encouraged numbers to bring up their children to the ſea, in hopes that ſome future rupture with Spain, or other favourable circumſtances, might make the ſea-ſervice the channel to riches and honours: with this view, the ſtudy of navigation and coſmography was preferred to all others; and the event juſtified their expectations; for it is very remarkable, that the weſt of England proved a nurſery of able mariners, and gave birth to moſt of thoſe renowned naval officers, whoſe diſcoveries and victories extended the power, increaſed the commerce, and ſecured the independency of their country, in the glorious reign of Elizabeth.

Before

Before her time, the naval force of England was insufficient to protect adventurers, in any important foreign enterprise. But soon after her accession, our navy was put upon a respectable footing; not only by building ships in the royal yards, but by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which could be occasionally employed in the service of the crown.

The commmanders, in general, were men of equal bravery, skill and generosity: as the sailors shared the dangers, so they liberally divided with them, the spoils of war.

The manufactures newly established in England by the foreign protestants who had fled to England for refuge, furnished valuable commodities to enable us to carry on a beneficial barter with the natives of the new world; and some of these being received by them, with a degree of veneration, as if they had been presents from heaven, this was another circumstance, which tended to abate the ferocity, and to establish a friendly intercourse, even with savage nations.

And finally, the bad policy of Spain contributed in the highest degree to the establishment of the English in America; for the cruelties they had committed on the natives, had rendered their very name odious, in the southern hemisphere; the same bad policy likewise plunged them into a war with England; and if ever war could be considered as a national happiness, it certainly must be allowed to have been such for England at this period, when her merchants adventurers found their private interest combined with the public, which induced them to fit out fleets to undertake expeditions against Spain at their own expence. And our brave seamen, at the same time that they enriched themselves with the spoils of the Spanish settlements in America, defeated the designs of the ene-

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mies of their country, whose deep-concerted plans threatened no less than the assassination of Elizabeth, and the total annihilation of the protestant religion and succession in England.

These historical anecdotes, we hope, will be considered as a proper introduction to the important maritime and commercial transactions in which Sir John Hawkins had so considerable a share. This gentleman was the second son of William Hawkins, Esq; who gained great reputation as a seaman, and acquired a competent fortune by trading to the coast of Brazil, being the first Englishman who established a friendly intercourse with the natives, a people represented by the Portugueze to have been so savage, that no other Europeans would venture to visit them. Young Hawkins, early in youth, discovered a strong inclination for the sea, and applied himself with great assiduity to the study of navigation; and at a proper age, he made several voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, in the merchants service; it is likewise supposed, that he went with his father to the coast of Brazil; but this is only conjecture, for he was born at Plymouth in the year 1520, and we have reason to think his father quitted the sea, to retire and live upon his fortune, about the year 1536. In fact, we have no authentic memoirs of the first voyages of the son, upon his own account; but our historians take notice, that he was employed by queen Elizabeth, soon after her accession; and most of the celebrated admirals, who so eminently distinguished themselves in the service of their country, in the latter part of her reign, were brought up under him.

It was customary however in those days, for naval officers of great reputation, when they were not actually engaged by the crown, in any national service, to undertake commercial voyages by the aid,

aid, and in conjunction with the merchants, for which they obtained permiſſion from the queen, and generally ſome conditional privileges were annexed to their ſpecial licences upon theſe occaſions. The plan of a voyage of this kind was propoſed by captain John Hawkins, to a ſet of gentlemen and merchants in the ſpring of the year 1562, and a ſmall ſquadron was ſoon after fitted out at their own expence, to eſtabliſh a trade to the coaſt of Guinea for ſlaves, to be bartered at the Spaniſh Weſt India iſlands for ſilver, ſugar, hides, &c. Their whole force conſiſted of only two ſhips of 100 tons, and one bark of forty tons, with only one hundred men in all. With theſe he ſet ſail in October for the coaſt of Guinea, and having by force or purchaſe acquired 300 negroe ſlaves, he ſteered his courſe for Hiſpaniola, where he exchanged them for the commodities already ſpecified, on very advantageous terms, and returned ſafe, from this ſucceſsful enterpriſe in September 1563. And thus was the foundation of our ſlave trade commenced, which conſidered on the principles of the law of nature muſt be deemed both inhuman and illicit; but viewed only in a commercial light the conſequences of this voyage appear to have been highly beneficial to England; for when our North American ſettlements were eſtabliſhed, the purchaſe of negroes for the cultivation of them became indiſpenſably neceſſary, and though they might have been taken by force at firſt, they were afterwards as regularly contracted for as any other merchandize, and it ſhould be remembered, that they frequently ſold themſelves, as they ſtill continue to do.

In 1564, captain Hawkins undertook a ſecond voyage, but with greater force, his own ſhip the Jeſus, being of the burthen of 700 tons; the Solomon of 120; the Swallow of 100, and the Tyger

ger bark of 40. He ſailed from Plymouth in October, and on his arrival at Guinea, he procured the number of negroes he wanted, and proceeded with them to the Weſt Indies: he arrived at the iſland of Dominica on the 9th of March 1565, and this place being at that time very inconſiderable, he repaired to the iſland of Margaretta, where he was hoſpitably received by the Alcaide, and ſupplied with proviſions; but the governor poſitively refuſed to permit him to traffic with the inhabitants, he likewiſe detained a pilot whom he had hired, and diſpatched intelligence of his arrival to the governor of St. Domingo, who immediately iſſued orders, and cauſed them to be notified to all the Spaniſh ſubjects along the coaſts, prohibiting every ſpecies of traffic with the Engliſh fleet. Thus diſappointed, our brave adventurer made for the continent, and took in water and freſh proviſions at Santa Fé, then cruizing along the coaſt, he caſt anchor on the third of April, before the town of Burboroata, and ſent a deputation on ſhore, to requeſt the liberty of trading with the inhabitants, but after waiting fourteen days, the conditions annexed to the permiſſion, were found to be ſuch, as could by no means be complied with; for the duties impoſed, were calculated ſo as to make it a loſing contract for the Engliſh. Captain Hawkins exaſperated at this ill uſage, ſent a detachment on ſhore conſiſting of 100 men completely armed to demand better terms, which they obtained, and he then traded with them on an equitable footing. The ſame refuſal he met with at other places, and by the ſame ſpirited meaſure, he compelled the Spaniards to trade with him, and in the end made a proſperous voyage, and then returned home through the Gulph of Florida. Soon after his arrival in England, which was in September 1565; the queen

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in commemoration of his opening the trade to the coaſts of Guinea, granted him a patent to bear for his creſt, a demi-moor, bound with a cord, and to do him the greater honour, clarienceux king at arms was commanded to wait upon him, in proper form with the patent.

Captain Hawkins was next employed on the government ſervice, to convoy the Engliſh troops ſent to the relief of the French proteſtants at Rochelle, and after his return from France, while he was lying with his ſquadron at Cat-water, waiting for further orders from the queen, the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſail, paſſed by without paying the honours of the flag to the Engliſh ſquadron, upon which Hawkins ordered a ſhot to be fired at the admiral's flag, which producing no effect, a ſecond was fired, which went through it, and then the Spaniſh fleet came-to, and took in their colours; the admiral then ſent off one of his principal officers in a boat to deſire an explanation, but the captain would not ſuffer him to come on board, neither would he receive his meſſage in perſon, it was therefore reported to him by one of his own inferior officers, by whom he ſent to the Spaniard, to require him to inform his admiral, that as he had paſſed one of the queen's ports, and neglected the cuſtomary honours paid to her majeſty, eſpecially as he had ſo large a fleet under his command, it gave room to ſuſpect ſome hoſtile deſign, wherefore he inſiſted on his departure in twelve hours, otherwiſe he ſhould treat him as an enemy. This gallant behaviour brought the Spaniſh admiral himſelf to wait on captain Hawkins, in the ſame boat, and upon their meeting, the Spaniſh admiral deſired to know if the two crowns were at war unknown to him? Captain Hawkins replied in the negative, but that poſſibly this affront might occaſion one, for he was determined

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to ſend an expreſs, to inform the queen what had paſſed. The Spaniard at firſt, did not apprehend the nature of the offence he had committed, but being at laſt fully convinced of his error, he genteely acknowledged it, and captain Hawkins as politely agreed to let it reſt with them, after which they reciprocally entertained each other, on board their reſpective ſhips and on ſhore, and with the firſt fair wind, the Spaniſh fleet ſet ſail for the coaſt of Flanders.

In the month of October of the ſame year, 1567, captain Hawkins ſailed on a third trading voyage to the coaſt of Guinea and the Weſt Indies, in his old ſhip the Jeſus, accompanied by the Minion, and four other ſhips, one of which was commanded by captain, afterwards admiral Drake. On their arrival at Guinea, they took on board about 500 negroes, and then purſued their voyage to the Spaniſh ſettlements in America. *Rio de la Hacha* was the firſt place where he attempted to trade, but being refuſed, he landed his men and took poſſeſſion of the town, and then an accommodation took place, and he met with ſuch ſucceſs, that he diſpoſed of great part of his negroes; with the remainder he ſailed for Carthagena, and there completed his commercial tranſactions; but on his return home, he met with ſtormy weather on the coaſt of Florida, which obliged him to put into the harbour of *St. John de Ulloa*, in the bay of Mexico, on the 16th of September, 1568. The Spaniſh inhabitants, imagining his ſquadron was part of the fleet of their own nation expected from Spain, readily came on board, and were greatly terrified when they diſcovered their miſtake; but captain Hawkins entertained them with great civility, and to diſpel their fears, aſſured them, that he only came there by ſtreſs of weather, and wanted nothing but proviſions, nor did he

he attempt any thing againſt twelve merchant ſhips richly laden, then lying in the port; for his own ſecurity however, he detained two perſons of rank, as hoſtages, till the return of an expreſs ſent to Mexico, with an account of his arrival. The next day the Spaniſh fleet appeared, having on board the viceroy newly appointed, and on his voyage to his government; in this delicate ſituation captain Hawkins was at a loſs how to act, for as England was not at war with Spain, he was apprehenſive of his ſovereign's diſpleaſure, if he ſhould prevent their entrance into the harbour, eſpecially as the ſtorms continued, and they muſt have periſhed; at the ſame time he had ſtrong ſuſpicions, that ſome treachery would be practiſed againſt him, when the Spaniſh fleet was ſecure in their own port, and that he ſhould be overpowered by numbers. He therefore took the precaution to inſiſt on ſuch conditions from the viceroy, before he would admit his fleet into the harbour, as were beſt calculated to guard the Engliſh againſt any latent perfidy on the part of the inhabitants of the town, from whom every thing was to be dreaded, with the aſſiſtance of their fleet. With this view he required, that the Engliſh fleet ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions on their paying for them; that hoſtages for keeping the peace ſhould be given by both parties, and that the iſland, with the cannon on the fortifications ſhould be put into the hands of his people during their ſtay. The viceroy at firſt rejected theſe propoſals with diſdain, but upon being told that captain Hawkins conſidered himſelf as the repreſentative of the queen of England, and therefore of a rank equal to his, he vouchſafed to negociate the matter with him in perſon, and ſolemnly promiſed to fulfil the agreement in every particular.

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The treaty thus concluded, the Spaniſh fleet entered the harbour on the 26th, and as it had been agreed, the canal of the port being narrow, that the fleets of the two nations ſhould be ranged on each ſide, this arrangement took up two days, during which the greateſt harmony ſeemed to prevail between the Engliſh and the Spaniſh officers. Yet a conſpiracy at this time was forming at land, to attack the Engliſh, no leſs than 1000 men being muſtered on ſhore, and it was agreed that the people of the town ſhould ſupport the operations of the fleet. Accordingly, on the morning of the 24th, the Engliſh obſerved unuſual manœuvres on board the Spaniſh ſhips; their ſmall arms were ſhifted from one ſhip to another, and their ordnance pointed at the Engliſh fleet; a greater number of men than uſual likewiſe appeared upon the decks; and ſeveral other circumſtances contributing to alarm captain Hawkins, he ſent to the viceroy, to know the meaning of all theſe extraordinary motions: when, in order to carry on the baſe deception, the viceroy, to all outward appearance, gave all poſſible ſatisfaction to the Engliſh commander, and aſſured him, on his parole of honour, that if the inhabitants of the place had any ſecret deſigns, and ſhould attempt any violence againſt the Engliſh fleet, he would protect and aſſiſt them. But captain Hawkins, from a variety of circumſtances, had reaſon to doubt the ſincerity of the viceroy, and therefore he ordered his people to ſtand upon their defence; ſoon after, ſuſpecting that a conſiderable land force was concealed in a ſhip which lay next to the Minion, he ſent to the viceroy, to demand a categorical anſwer, who, unable any longer to conceal his treachery, detained the meſſenger, and ordered a trumpet to be ſounded, which was the ſignal for falling upon the Engliſh.

Captain

Captain Hawkins was at dinner when he heard the trumpet, and in the ſame inſtant, Don Auguſtine de Villa Neuva, a Spaniard, whom he had treated with great reſpect and civility, felt in his ſleeve for a dagger, which he had concealed, having engaged to aſſaſſinate Hawkins, but one John Chamberlayne, who waited at table, perceived his motion in time to ſtop his hand and arreſt him: he was directly ſecured in the ſteward's room, and Hawkins flew upon deck, where he perceived the Spaniſh troops boarding the Minion from the veſſel wherein they had been concealed, upon which he exclaimed with great ardour, "God and Saint "George fall upon theſe traitors, and reſcue the "Minion: I truſt in God the day ſhall be ours." His crew thereupon boarded the Minion, drove out the Spaniards, and fired a ſhot into the vice-admiral, which it is imagined, paſſed through the powder-room, for three hundred Spaniards on board were blown up into the air. Another ſhot ſet fire to the Spaniſh admiral, which continued burning half an hour. But this dreadful havock was unhappily retaliated upon the Engliſh on ſhore, who were all cut off except three, who ſwam to the Engliſh ſhips. Hawkins, though overpowered, continued the engagement with undaunted reſolution, even after the ordnance of the fort had ſunk his ſmall ſhips, at the utmoſt peril of his life, for his ſhip was already greatly diſabled, when, having drank ſucceſs to his men, encouraging them to ply their guns briſkly, a ſhot from a demi-culverin ſtruck the cup he had juſt put out of his hand, carried that, and a cooper's plane, which lay near the main-maſt, overboard, and went out through the oppoſite ſide of the ſhip. Upon which Hawkins only re-animated his men, by telling them "to fear nothing, for God who had preſerved "him from that ſhot, would alſo deliver them all

"from thoſe traitors and villains the Spaniards." At length, the maſts and rigging of the Jeſus being ſo ſhattered by the artillery of the fort, that it was impoſſible to bring her off, it was reſolved to place her as a ſcreen to the Minion till night, and then it was propoſed to take out her proviſions, neceſſaries, &c. and abandon her; but ſoon after, two Spaniſh fire-ſhips bearing down upon the Minion, the crew conſulting their own ſafety, without waiting for orders from their officers, hove away from the Jeſus, with ſo much precipitation, that it was with great difficulty Hawkins was taken on board; as for his people, they were obliged to take to their boats, and row after the Minion, which had got under ſail; ſome reached her, but others fell victims to the ſavage barbarity of the Spaniards.

The Spaniſh fleet ſuffered greatly in the action; the admiral and vice-admiral were rendered unfit for ſervice, and four other ſhips were totally deſtroyed; they loſt likewiſe about 500 men, and this was all the reward they had, for their infamous conduct. Of the Engliſh ſquadron, which conſiſted of five ſail, none but the Minion and the Judith eſcaped, and the latter, a bark of 50 tons, ſeparated from the Minion in the night, ſoon after the engagement was over; and we have no further account of her. As for the Minion ſhe was crowded with men, having on board all the wounded they could bring off, and great part of the crew of the Jeſus; and ſome of the men, who had eſcaped in boats from the ſhips that were ſunk. Captain Hawkins now took the command of the Minion, and it does not appear whether this was the ſhip before under Drake; all we know is, that he returned home in her. They remained out at ſea, in want of proviſions and water, for their numerous complement of men, till the 8th of October, when they

they entered a creek in the bay of Mexico, in ſearch of refreſhments. This was near the mouth of the river Tampico, and here fortunately for thoſe who remained on board, upwards of an hundred of the men requeſted to be put on ſhore, preferring the uncertain fate to which they expoſed themſelves, to the apparent riſk of periſhing for want of neceſſaries for ſuch numbers, before the ſhip could reach any friendly port.

Theſe unhappy people however, endured every ſpecies of human miſery; a few were killed, and others wounded by the Indians upon their march up the country; but when the affrighted ſavages found they were not Spaniards, they treated them kindly, and directed them to the port of Tampico. Here they divided, and the major part unfortunately marched weſtward, and fell into the hands of the governors of different Spaniſh ſettlements, by whom they were inhumanly treated, and ſold to ſlavery; ſome were burnt, and others tortured by the Inquiſition, and of ſixty-five perſons, we have no certain account of the return of any to England, except Job Hortop, gunner of the Jeſus, who, after twelve years impriſonment by the Inquiſition, found means to obtain his liberty and got ſafe to England in 1590, after having ſuffered incredible hardſhips for twenty-three years.

Captain Hawkins, with the reſt of the crew, conſiſting likewiſe of about 100 men, ſailed thro' the gulph of Florida, the latter end of October, and after running the hazard of being ſeized at a Spaniſh port, which they were obliged to enter for proviſions, they got ſafe to Vigo, where they met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, from them they received full ſupplies of every neceſſary for their voyage, and on the 25th of January, 1570, they arrived ſafe in England, which was all the conſolation

ſolation they had after this unſucceſsful diſmal enterpriſe, for as to Hawkins, he ſuffered greatly in his fortune by the loſs of his merchandiſe, and the inferior officers and men ſaved nothing but their lives.

To indemnify our brave commander for the fatigues and hardſhips he had endured, the queen promoted him to an honourable office at home, admirably ſuited to his capacity, a circumſtance which is but ſeldom attended to, in the diſpoſal of the public employments; he was made treaſurer of the navy; in virtue of this poſt, he had the chief direction of the royal docks, and he took care to keep the navy upon a reſpectable footing, more ſhips being built and repaired after he came into this office, than had ever been known in England before. It was likewiſe part of his duty to take the command of any ſquadrons fitted out for the purpoſe of clearing the narrow ſeas of pirates; and upon theſe occaſions he exerted himſelf ſo effectually, that the merchants thanked him in a body, for the protection and ſecurity given to commercial navigation, in 1575.

From this time to the year 1588, we have nothing memorable tranſmitted to us concerning him, except an ugly accident which happened to him, as he was walking in the Strand: a lunatic miſtaking him for Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, the queen's vice-chamberlain, ſuddenly ſtabbed him in the back; the wound did not prove mortal, but was ſo dangerous, that there were little hopes of his recovery for ſome time. This deſperate wretch was committed to the Tower, where he killed his keeper with a billet brought to him for firing, and being tried and condemned for this murder, he was executed in the Strand, near the place where he had wounded captain Hawkins; who was providentially preſerved to ſhare the glory of that great

great day, when the Spaniſh Armada was defeated: he ſerved under the lord high admiral Howard in the rank of rear-admiral, and he chaced the flying Spaniards with ſuch intrepidity and ſucceſs, that the queen in perſon publicly applauded his conduct, before the whole court, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

The war continuing with Spain, a grand expedition was meditated ſoon after the deſtruction of the Armada, to annoy the coaſts of Spain, and at the ſame time, if poſſible, to defray the expences of the enterpriſe, and reward the valour of the ſubjects engaged in it, by intercepting the plate fleet. A fleet of ten ſhips of the line was fitted out for theſe purpoſes, and divided into two ſquadrons of five ſail, with inſtructions to act in concert, but each ſquadron had a ſeparate commander; and upon this occaſion Sir Martin Frobiſher was judged the propereſt perſon to be joined in commiſſion with Sir John Hawkins. Very great expectations were formed of the ſucceſs of this expedition from the known valour and abilities of the two admirals, for they were rivals in naval reputation.

Sir Martin Frobiſher was born in Yorkſhire, and was put apprentice by his parents, who were of low degree, to the maſter of a coaſting veſſel, and having diſcovered great talents for navigation, joined to a bold enterpriſing genius, and undaunted courage, he was diſtinguiſhed early in life as an able ſeaman, and, but by what means we know not, he procured recommendations to Ambroſe Dudley, earl of Warwick, who with other perſons of rank and fortune, patroniſed an enterpriſe he had long meditated, which was to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies: being provided with three ſmall veſſels at the expence of his patrons, he ſailed from Deptford in the ſummer of the year 1576, and in about five weeks he

found himself in 61 degrees of north latitude, where he discovered high points of land covered with snow, but not being able to approach the shore on account of the quantity of ice, and the impossibility of casting anchor from the extraordinary depth of the water; he entered his observations in his journal, and gave the title of *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*, to the eastern promontary of the coast.

In the month of August he sailed into the Streights, lying a little to the northward of Cape Farewell and West Greenland, in 63 degrees of latitude, these he named *Frobisher's Streights*, and they still continue to be so called. His endeavours however, to open an intercourse with the natives on the coasts proved unsuccessful; the Indians seizing his men and his boats; and according to some accounts, either by storms, or hostilities, he lost two of his vessels, which obliged him to make for England, where he arrived safe in October, and though the chief object of the voyage was not accomplished, yet the discovery of the situation of these places, proved highly beneficial to future navigators.

Frobisher made two voyages to these parts in 1577 and 1578, and with great perseverance and bravery attempted to approach nearer to the North Pole; but being the first adventurer, as it frequently happens, his observations served rather as instructions to his successors, than as splendid monuments of his own great reputation, and 'tis probable that his unpolished manners might prevent the good fortune he had promised himself in these enterprises, for he was a very severe commander, rigid in his discipline, and more dreaded than beloved by his men. With this cast of temper, his success was more signal in engagements with an enemy, than in attempts to traffic, or to esta-

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bliſh a friendly communication with the inhoſpitable natives of North America. Accordingly, he performed wonders againſt the Spaniſh Armada, was knighted on the recommendation of the lord admiral in 1588, and in 1590, he was ſent with Sir John Hawkins on the expedition, to which we now return. The king of Spain gaining early intelligence of this armament, and of its deſtination, at firſt propoſed to oppoſe it with a more formidable fleet; but his council wiſely judging that Elizabeth, who had a ſtrong navy at this time, would ſpeedily reinforce the admirals, if ſhe found it requiſite, that plan was laid aſide, and a more prudent meaſure adopted; which was to keep his ſhips in their harbours, and to ſend expreſſes over land to India, to order the Plate-fleet to remain in port, inſtead of ſailing that year. Thus circumſtanced, the admirals were obliged to remain inactive for ſeven months, cruizing off the Azores, without taking a ſingle ſhip. At laſt, determined to attempt ſome ſignal action, they attacked the Iſland of Fayal; but the governor being well provided with every neceſſary to ſupport a long ſiege, they were obliged to retire with ſome loſs and little reputation; and ſoon after, they were ordered home, where they were but coolly received by the people, who are ſtruck only with brilliant acts; but the intentions of the court being in a great meaſure anſwered, by obliging the Spaniſh fleets to remain in their harbours, and preventing the arrival of the plate fleet in Spain, which occaſioned bankruptcies amongſt her merchants, the court conſidered them in the light of faithful ſervants, and they were highly eſteemed by their ſovereign.

The laſt and the moſt arduous enterprize, in which Sir John Hawkins was engaged, proved fatal to himſelf. In the life of Sir Francis Drake, we have given an account of the armament fitted out

in the year 1595, to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies; and we have marked the operations of the fleet under the joint command of Hawkins and Drake, till they made an unſucceſsful attack on the chief of the Canary Iſlands. Sir John Hawkins, being the oldeſt commander, was not a little chagrined at having his advice overruled; and his reſentment againſt Drake and Baſkerville was increaſed, when he found, that while they were employed in this fruitleſs attempt, the Spaniards had time to put their chief places in the Weſt-Indies in a proper ſtate of defence. With much chagrin therefore, he ſailed for Dominica, where the ſeamen and the troops, by ſome miſmanagement, waſted more time in taking in proviſions and other refreſhment, and in preparing their pinnaces, which were deſigned for ſailing cloſer to the harbour of Porto Rico, than the men of war could approach. In the interval, the Spaniards ſent five large frigates well manned, to bring off the galleon; theſe, on their way, fell in with the rear of the diviſion of the fleet under Sir John Hawkins, who had ſailed from Dominica for Porto Rico, in the evening of the 30th of October. The Spaniards took the Francis, a bark of 135 tons, and having tortured ſome of the crew into a confeſſion, that all the Engliſh force was bent againſt Porto Rico, the Spaniſh admiral crouded all his ſail, and made the beſt of his way, without attempting to engage Sir John Hawkins, though he had a ſuperior ſquadron, and by this prudent conduct he ſaved the place. As for Hawkins, he foreſaw the inevitable conſequences of the repeated delays of the Engliſh fleet, and of the capture of the Francis, which augmenting his chagrin, threw him into a fever, and put a period to his valuable life on the 21ſt of November 1595, when they had juſt made the iſland of Porto Rico. The unfortunate iſſue of the deſperate attack

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on Porto Rico, and its ſimilar fatal effect on Sir Francis Drake, the reader will naturally recur to in the life of that admiral.

The great character Sir John Hawkins acquired, was tarniſhed by the mean paſſion of avarice; and it is much to be feared, that it had too great an influence on ſome parts of his public conduct. However, his great abilities in the naval department, both at land and at ſea, extenuated his defects: he was no leſs than forty-eight years commander at ſea, and twenty-two years treaſurer of the navy, for the regulation of which he eſtabliſhed many excellent orders; and he was both the author and the patron of ſeveral uſeful inventions and improvements in the art of navigation. Laſtly, in conjunction with his brother William, he contributed to the great increaſe of ſailors, by promoting commercial navigation; for they were owners of thirty ſail, ſays Dr. Campbell, of goodly ſhips.

He likewiſe bred up his ſon Richard to the ſea, and had the happineſs of ſeeing him knighted, two years before he died, for his ſignal ſervices. Sir Richard Hawkins accompanied his father in moſt of his expeditions, and upon all occaſions proved that he inherited his father's valour. In the engagement with the Armada, he commanded the Swallow, a frigate, which was cloſely attacked, and ſuffered more than any ſhip in the Engliſh fleet. In 1590, under the command of his father and Sir Martin Frobiſher, he exerted himſelf in a ſignal manner on the coaſts of Spain; and in 1593, he fitted out two large ſhips at his own expence, having firſt procured a commiſſion from the queen, to annoy the Spaniards in South-America: he had likewiſe a further deſign of ſailing round the globe, that he might ſhare the glory of Drake and Cavendiſh: with this view, he paſſed the Streights of Magellan with only one ſhip, in the ſpring of the year 1594,

and cruized along the coasts of Patagonia, which have lately been the object of curiosity, and the subject of general conversation. In 48 degrees of southern latitude, he discovered a fair and promising country, situated in a very temperate climate, and to particular places he gave different names; but the land collectively, he called HAWKINS's MAIDEN LAND, assigning as a reason, that he had discovered it at his own expence, under the auspices of a maiden queen. After taking some valuable prizes in the South-Seas, and once, bravely disengaging himself from an attempt made by Don Bertrand de Castro to take him, it would seem strange that he did not return home, if it did not appear, that with his valour, he inherited his father's foible, an inordinate love of money, which detained him in those parts, to make more valuable captures, till in the end, he himself was taken with all his treasure by the Spanish admiral, after a desperate engagement, in the course of which he received several dangerous wounds: he surrendered on a promise, that the whole crew should have a free passage to England as soon as possible; but the Spaniards, with their usual perfidy, sent him to Seville, and afterwards to Madrid, retaining him a prisoner in Spain, till the peace between that country and England was negociating in 1600; and though the treaty was broke off, he then obtained his release, and returned home; after which, he passed the remainder of his days in retirement: he died suddenly of an apoplectic fit, in an outer chamber, while he was attending on the privy-council; but upon what business, or in what year this event happened, we are left in the dark, by the writers of his life. He left an account of his voyage, to the time of his being taken, part of which was put to press by himself, and the whole manuscript was printed and published after his decease, in one volume, folio,

intitled, "The Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, in his voyage to the South-Seas;" but it is imperfect, the author having deſigned to complete it, in a ſecond part.

It now remains, that we ſhould conclude the memoirs of this reſpectable *naval triumvirate*, by completing our account of Sir Martin Frobiſher.

In the year 1592, he commanded a ſquadron, fitted out at the expence of Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends, with inſtructions to watch the arrival of the Plate-fleet on the coaſt of Spain; and though his whole armament conſiſted of only three ſhips, he burnt one galleon, richly laden, and brought home another.

In 1594, the queen ſent him to the aſſiſtance of Henry IV. of France, againſt his rebellious ſubjects the Leaguers, and the Spaniards, who had gained poſſeſſion of part of *Bretagne*; and had fortified themſelves in a very ſtrong manner at *Croyzon* near *Breſt*. Admiral Frobiſher commanded four ſhips of the line, with which he blocked up the port; at the ſame time, Sir John Norris, with 3000 infantry, attacked the place by land, which however would not have been carried, if the admiral had not landed his ſailors to reinforce the general: the ſailors made a deſperate attack, and took it by ſtorm; but their brave admiral received a muſket-ball in his ſide, and by the miſmanagement of the ſurgeon, the wound proved mortal, in a few days after his arrival at Plymouth.

*** *Authorities.* Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Baker's Chronicle. Hume's Hiſtory of England.

THE

THE LIFE OF

WILLIAM CECIL,

Lord BURLEIGH.

[A.D. 1520, to 1598.]

Including Memoirs of Sir NICHOLAS BACON, Sir NICHOLAS THROGMORTON, and THOMAS HOWARD, Duke of Norfolk.

WE are now to resume the thread of British history, which we shall find regularly connected with the principal incidents of the life of this great statesman, who had the chief guidance of the reins of government forty years; frequent changes of administration, the bane of modern politics, being in those days unknown.

William Cecil was the son of Richard Cecil, Esq; of Burleigh, in the county of Northampton, principal officer of the robes in the reign of Henry VIII. and in great favour with the king. His mother was the daughter and heiress of William Hickington, Esq; of Bourn, in the county of Lincoln: at which place he was born in the year 1520.

The first rudiments of his education he received at the grammar-schools of Grantham and Stamford, and discovering an ardent thirst for knowledge, his father determined to qualify him for the law; with this

this view, he ſent him to St. John's college, Cambridge, where his cloſe application to his ſtudies, aſſiſted by an uncommon genius, ſoon acquired him conſiderable reputation, but at the expence of his health, for he contracted a humour in his legs, from his long ſittings, which laid the foundation of that tormenting diſeaſe, the gout, afterwards, a diſagreeable companion to him, for life.

In his nineteenth year, he had completed his univerſity education, and was therefore removed by his father to Gray's-inn, London, then the moſt eminent of the inns of court. Here his proficiency in the law was as rapid, as his general learning at the univerſity. And while he was thus laudably employed, an accident happened which introduced him to the notice of his ſovereign, and diverted his attention, in ſome meaſure from the law, to the attainment of courtly accompliſhments.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Cecil went to court, on a viſit to his father, and in the preſence-chamber he met two prieſts, chaplains to O'Neale, a famous Iriſh chief, who was negociating the affairs of his country with the king. With theſe prieſts, who were bigotted papiſts, young Cecil fell into converſation upon theological topics; a warm diſpute enſued, which was carried on in Latin, and managed with ſo much wit and ſound argument on the part of Cecil, an advocate for the reformed religion, that the chaplains ſeeing themſelves foiled by a youth, broke from him in rage. Upon this, it was reported to the king, that young Cecil had confuted both O'Neale's chaplains; and his Majeſty thereupon ordered him into his preſence, and was ſo delighted with the pertinent anſwers he gave to ſeveral intricate queſtions, that he directed his father to find out a place for him at court; but as it happened there was no vacancy. The old gentleman therefore, aſked for the reverſion

of the Cuſtos Brevium Office in the Common Pleas; which the king willingly granted.

About this time, Mr. Cecil married Mary Cheeke, ſiſter to Sir John Cheeke, by whom he had his firſt ſon, Thomas. This lady died in leſs than two years after her marriage. Five years after, he married Mildred Cooke, a daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, one of the tutors to Edward VI. a lady of great merit, and uncommon learning.

Upon the acceſſion of Edward VI. he was promoted at court, for Sir John Cheeke recommended him to the lord protector, the king's uncle, who made him maſter of the requeſts, and ſoon after he came to the poſſeſſion of his office of Cuſtos Brevium; theſe acquiſitions, and the fortune of his ſecond wife, enabled him to make a diſtinguiſhed figure amongſt the courtiers.

Mr. Cecil attended the protector Somerſet in his expedition to Scotland, and was at the battle of Muſſelburgh, where he had a narrow eſcape, his life being ſaved by the generous interpoſition of one of his friends, who puſhed him out of the level of a cannon, and had his arm inſtantly ſhattered to pieces by the ball, which would otherwiſe have deſtroyed Cecil.

In 1548, he grew into great favour with the young king, which Somerſet obſerving, he advanced him to the office of ſecretary of ſtate; but the following year, a party being formed againſt the protector, he was involved in the misfortunes of his patron, and was committed to the Tower, where he remained a priſoner three months. But to recompenſe him for this temporary diſgrace, the king conferred on him the honour of knighthood, ſoon after his releaſe; and in October 1551, he was ſworn of the privy-council. The following year, party diſputes ran very high at court; and though Sir William Cecil acted with great caution,

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endeavouring, on the one hand, to avoid involving himſelf in the fate of his falling patron, and on the other, not to court the duke of Northumberland, the riſing favourite, in an unbecoming, ſervile manner, yet his enemies accuſed him of promoting the ruin of Somerſet. But the aſperſion is grounded ſolely on his cool reply to the duke, when he told him, he was apprehenſive of ſome evil deſign againſt him. "If you are not in fault, ſaid Cecil, you may truſt to your innocence; if you are, I have nothing to ſay, but to lament you."

In 1553, Sir William Cecil undertook the liquidation of the crown debts, and having propoſed ways and means which were agreed to by the council, he was, for this eminent ſervice, made chancellor of the noble order of the garter; and about this time, the people began to form great expectations of him, on account of his attention to the commercial affairs of the nation; for the promotion of which, he patronized every rational ſcheme propoſed to him.

At the council-board, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the reſolution for changing the ſucceſſion to the crown, in favour of Lady Jane Grey, and refuſed to ſign the inſtrument for that purpoſe, as a privy-counſellor, but he witneſſed it as the act and deed of the king: but on his Majeſty's demiſe, he refuſed to draw up the proclamation, declaring Lady Jane's title, neither would he write a letter, on the duke of Northumberland's ſolicitation, to acknowledge her right, and to treat Mary as illegitimate. This diſcretion paved the way to his future advancement. For queen Mary, ſoon after her acceſſion, granted Sir William Cecil a general pardon; and, on chuſing her counſellors, ſhe ſaid, if he would change his religion, he ſhould be her ſecretary and counſellor: to which he nobly anſwered; "he was taught and bound to ſerve God firſt, and next the queen.

queen: but if her ſervice ſhould put him out of God's ſervice, he hoped her Majeſty would give him leave to chuſe an everlaſting, rather than a momentary ſervice: that ſhe had been his ſo gracious lady as he would ever ſerve and pray for her in his heart; and with his body and goods be as ready to ſerve in her defence as any of her loyal ſubjects; but hoped ſhe would pleaſe to grant him leave to uſe his conſcience to himſelf, and ſerve her at large as a private man, rather than to be her greateſt counſellor." Yet the queen ſtill treated him very graciouſly, and forebore either to hear his enemies, who were many, or to diſgrace him; for, in the ſecond year of her reign, he was ſent to Bruſſels, with the lord Paget, to bring over cardinal Pole.

During the remainder of this reign, Sir William Cecil continued in a private ſtation, only attending his duty in parliament, as knight of the ſhire for the county of Lincoln; and though in parliament, he frequently oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, yet he was held in ſuch reſpect by the queen's miniſters, and particularly by cardinal Pole, that he was never moleſted either for his religious or political ſentiments, though he openly avowed both, with manly freedom.

When queen Elizabeth ſucceeded to the throne, "Sir William Cecil, for his truth and tried ſervice to her, was worthily called and honourably advanced by her Majeſty to be her ſecretary of ſtate and a privy-counſellor; and was the firſt ſworn of any counſellor ſhe had, at Hatfield, where ſhe reſided at her firſt coming to the crown."

In the firſt parliament holden in the beginning of the queen's reign, great difficulties aroſe in reforming and altering religion, and for the better ſatisfaction of the parliament, by Sir William's advice, a conference was held in Weſtminſter church, by

by the old and new biſhops, and other learned men, upon ſome queſtions and points deviſed principally by himſelf touching the exerciſe of religion; which produced a happy coalition, and that form of worſhip, which has ever ſince been the eſtabliſhment of the church of England.

His next care was, to remedy the abuſes in the coinage; for this purpoſe, he called in all the baſe money, and ordered a new coinage, and put the gold and ſilver on the noble ſtandard it has ever ſince continued.

In the beginning of the year 1560, he was made maſter of the wards, upon the death of Sir Thomas Parry; and the ſame year he was ſent to Scotland in conjunction with Dr. Wotton, to negotiate a treaty of peace with the biſhop of Valence and the count de Randan, between England, Scotland, and France; they executed their commiſſion ſucceſsfully, but the French count abſolutely refuſed to ratify it, though the above-named ambaſſadors, veſted with full powers, had ſigned it.

The influence of Sir William Cecil increaſed every day at the council-board; and aſſured of the queen's ſupport, who beſides the high eſteem in which ſhe held his political abilities, was under conſiderable obligations to him, for giving her intelligence of all the motions of her enemies in the late reign; he now began to oppoſe the earl of Leiceſter, and that nobleman, jealous of his riſing reputation, as earneſtly endeavoured to ruin Cecil. This conteſt between two ſuch conſiderable men, produced a powerful diviſion at court, but as yet Leiceſter's party prevailed; and theſe being in league with the popiſh zealots, ſome of whom Elizabeth had allowed to retain their ſeats in council, they accuſed him to the queen of having written, or patronized a book, found upon his table, containing ſcandalous reflections on the whole body of the

the nobility; and when this, and ſome other dark intrigues failed, they baſely plotted againſt his life, hiring aſſaſſins to take him off, from whom he narrowly eſcaped, at one time, by going down the back ſtairs, on a hint that a villain waited for him at the foot of the great ſtairs of the palace. At another, by the failure of the cruel reſolution of the aſſaſſin, who being alone with him in his chamber, with a poignard in his hand, had not the power to perpetrate the horrid crime.

Notwithſtanding his great diſcernment, and his wary conduct, he would moſt probably have fallen a victim to the inveterate malice of the popiſh party, and the envy of Leiceſter, if he had not been firmly ſupported by Francis Ruſſel, earl of Bedford, and Sir Nicholas Bacon: of the latter, whoſe cool judgment, whoſe knowledge of the law, and whoſe high ſtation, all combined to protect Cecil, we ſhall here introduce conciſe memoirs.

Sir Nicholas Bacon firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reign of Henry VIII. by preſenting a plan to that prince, of a ſeminary for the education of youth, of rank and family, in order to qualify them for the public ſervice. The outlines of the plan were, that they ſhould ſtudy in a college, the elements of natural and political law, and the inſtitution of government; then they were to be divided into claſſes; and ſome, being diſtinguiſhed by ſuperior talents and addreſs, were to be ſent abroad under our ambaſſadors, while others were to write the hiſtory of our foreign negociations, and treaties, and of domeſtic national events, at home. But, though this noble deſign was not carried into execution, it remains a perpetual memorial of the extenſive views of its author, for the honour and happineſs of his country. Mr. Bacon's higheſt promotion in the law, (for which he had been educated) in the reign of Henry VIII. was

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the poſt of attorney to the court of wards, which he held under his ſucceſſor. In the reign of Mary, to avoid being involved in the troubles of the times, he reſided abroad, and had the honour to correſpond privately with the princeſs Elizabeth, who on her acceſſion, nominated him to be one of the eight privy-counſellors, in the proteſtant intereſt, to be added to the old council, whom for political reaſons ſhe did not chooſe to remove ſuddenly. To this honour, her Majeſty added that of knighthood; and ſoon after, Heath, archbiſhop of York, and lord chancellor of England, having refuſed to comply with the queen's orders, reſpecting the reformation of religion, the ſeals were taken from him, and given to Sir Nicholas Bacon, with the title only of lord keeper, but with the full powers of chancellor.

As he came into office by the proteſtant intereſt, ſo he firmly ſupported all his friends, embarked in the ſame cauſe; and in this view, he favoured the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Suffolk, in oppoſition to the claim of Mary queen of Scots; and as this ſucceſſion, in caſe of Elizabeth's death without iſſue, was the principal object of the ſecret cabals at court, he rendered himſelf extremely obnoxious to the earl of Leiceſter, the patron of the Scotch or Popiſh intereſt. But, regardleſs of menaces or intrigues, he boldly adhered to his friends, and he and Sir William Cecil may be truly ſaid to have been the reciprocal deliverers of each other. Sir Nicholas Bacon performed the firſt good office to Cecil, as we have already ſeen; and when Leiceſter had prevailed ſo far with the queen, that ſhe forbad Bacon the court, and ordered him to confine himſelf ſolely to the buſineſs of his tribunal, Cecil prevented the further progreſs of her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, and reſtored him to her favour, on condition

dition he ſhould not give his opinion any more about the ſucceſſion.

Sir Nicholas Bacon enjoyed his office with an unſullied character, and the higheſt reputation, for the wiſdom and equity of his decrees, upwards of twenty years, when he grew extremely corpulent, and was ſuddenly taken off by the effects of a violent cold, to the great grief of the queen and the whole nation, in the year 1579, and in the 69th year of his age.

Sallies of wit and repartee were the fire of converſation in his time; we muſt not therefore omit two, which have been preſerved in all the memoirs of this great man. The one by the queen, reſpecting his corpulency, her Majeſty ſaid, "the ſoul of Sir Nicholas Bacon lodged well." At another time, the queen honouring him with a viſit at his houſe at St. Alban's, her Majeſty obſerved, that the houſe was too little for him. "No, madam," anſwered Sir Nicholas, "but your Majeſty has made me too great for my houſe."

Having given this ſhort account of Cecil's beſt friend, it may not be improper to ſketch the character of the perſon employed by Leiceſter, as the chief agent of his practices againſt him.

This was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a gentleman deſcended from an ancient family in Warwickſhire, and educated in foreign parts. From early youth he manifeſted an inclination for political ſtudies, and before he was thirty years of age he was eſteemed an accompliſhed courtier; his knowledge of the true intereſts of his country, led him to oppoſe the marriage of queen Mary with Philip of Spain, in parliament; and his attachment at that time to the proteſtant cauſe, engaged him in ſecret meaſures for the ſupport of Wyat's rebellion, which being diſcovered, he was indicted for high treaſon; but he pleaded his own cauſe ſo ably, that

that neither the ſtrength of the evidence, nor the influence of the miniſtry, could prevail againſt him, for the jury acquitted him; for which offence, they were proſecuted by the attorney-general in the ſtar-chamber.

Queen Elizabeth, who was a ready diſcerner of merit, called him to court in the firſt year of her reign, and employed his talents in the department wherein ſhe knew he chiefly excelled: ſhe ſent him on various ſpecial embaſſies to France and Scotland, his knowledge of the political ſtate of Europe, and of men and manners, having acquired him the reputation of being one of the ableſt negociators of his time. But the ſame talents, under the influence of ambition, carried him deep into court intrigues at home, and made him ſacrifice his honour to ſupport his intereſt with the reigning favourite. It is no wonder therefore, that he became a principal in Leiceſter's faction, and involved himſelf in troubles on his account; particularly in the year 1569, when Leiceſter eſpouſed the propoſal made to him by the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, of marrying the queen of Scots to the duke of Norfolk; Throgmorton, upon Leiceſter's confeſſion of the whole ſcheme to Elizabeth, was taken into cuſtody; but finding, by this inſtance of perfidy, that he had miſtaken Leiceſter's true character, he made ſome conceſſions to Cecil, went over to his intereſt; and it is imagined, betrayed ſome important ſecrets, which rendered him ſo obnoxious to Leiceſter, that he only kept upon good terms with him to outward appearance, the better to accompliſh his deſign of taking him off, in the manner related, in the life of Leiceſter.

About the time of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's death, which happened in 1571, the queen began to be jealous of Leiceſter's high ſpirit and towering ambition; and probably, being conſcious of her unjuſtifiable

unjuſtifiable partiality in his favour, ſhe prudently advanced Cecil in honours and confidence, as a check upon her own paſſions, and the deep deſigns of her favourite.

Be this as it may, certain it is, that ſhe never conferred particular marks of diſtinction on any of her ſubjects, but upon the moſt urgent occaſions, and from political motives; and ſhe now raiſed Sir William Cecil to the dignity of a peer, by the ſtyle and title of baron lord Burleigh; and his enemies obſerving the high degree of eſtimation in which he was held by the queen, contended who ſhould be firſt reconciled to him. Lord Burleigh further recommended himſelf to her Majeſty, by his aſſiduity in watching all the motions of Mary queen of Scots, whoſe friends were for the moſt part the ſecret enemies of Elizabeth, and the abettors of all the popiſh plots to dethrone, or to aſſaſſinate her.

The unfortunate queen of the Scots, from the time that ſhe was detained priſoner in England, thought every meaſure juſtifiable, which had a tendency to reſtore her to the throne of Scotland; to ſtrengthen her claim to the ſucceſſion of that of England; to gratify her perſonal reſentment againſt Elizabeth; or to promote the re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion in both kingdoms.

To one or other of theſe objects, ſhe continually ſacrificed her reputation; and ſhe was ſo eager in the purſuit of them, that ſhe placed her confidence frequently, in the very perſons who were placed about her, to betray her. Conſpiracy upon conſpiracy was diſcovered by lord Burleigh's agents; and at length, the deſign of marrying the duke of Norfolk completed her ruin.

This nobleman was the eldeſt ſon of Henry earl of Surrey, whoſe memoirs the reader will find in the firſt volume of this work. Queen Mary reſtored

ſtored him in blood, and he ſucceeded to the title of duke of Norfolk on the death of his grandfather. When Elizabeth came to the throne, ſhe made him a knight of the garter, and beſtowed on him many other marks of her royal favour; but his ambitious deſign of ſucceeding to the throne of England, being avowed by Leiceſter, he was taken into cuſtody, and from that moment, Elizabeth regarded him with a jealous eye; yet, upon his going over to Cecil's party, and promiſing to drop all intercourſe with the queen of Scots, he was releaſed.

But no tie of honour or gratitude could keep him within the bounds of his duty, for he renewed his correſpondence with Mary, entered into a contract of marriage, exchanged vows with her, tranſmitted money to her friends in Scotland to ſupport her cauſe there, and took ſuch unguarded meaſures at home, to releaſe the royal captive, that the ſpies employed by Burleigh, ſoon procured ſufficient grounds to accuſe him to the privy-council of high treaſon; upon which he was committed to the Tower, the ſecond time, and was brought to his trial in January 1572, the earl of Shrewſbury being appointed high ſteward upon the occaſion; and upon the fulleſt evidence, he was found guilty; but ſo greatly was he beloved by his brother peers, that they all lamented the impoſſibility of ſaving him, the lord high ſteward burſting into tears when he pronounced the fatal ſentence; and it is certain, that the peers who condemned him ſolicited his pardon, which occaſioned a ſuſpenſion of his execution for five months; but unfortunately, in the interval, Mary and her friends were more active than ever, in their attempts to take off queen Elizabeth; the parliament therefore addreſſed her Majeſty on the expediency of executing the ſentence againſt the duke of Norfolk, and the neceſſity of bringing on the trial of Mary. In compliance with

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the addreſſes of both houſes, Norfolk ſuffered on the 2d of June; and died greatly regretted by the people, being a nobleman of great merit, who had cultivated popularity, by his affability and liberality, and whoſe crime was rather conſidered as the effect of his high rank, being the firſt peer of the realm, and perhaps led to believe, as there were no princes of the blood, that his aſpiring to the crown was not ſo criminal, as to be conſtrued into high treaſon, for his enemies acquit him of being privy to any deſigns on the queen's life: theſe baſe plots Mary artfully concealed from him, while ſhe held forth the lure of one crown in poſſeſſion, and another in reverſion.

The execution of the duke of Norfolk, effectually put a ſtop to the intrigues of all ambitious adventurers, who had entertained any hopes of marrying the unfortunate queen of Scots; and therefore, this obſtacle being removed, every conciliatory meaſure was tried: Elizabeth even condeſcended to treat with her, for her enlargement; and diſpatched lord Burleigh, and Sir Thomas Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, a privy-counſellor, remarkable for his great moderation, his popularity, and his wiſdom, to negociate the conditions of a reconciliation. Mary was, at this time, confined at Chatſworth, in Derbyſhire (now the ſeat of the duke of Devonſhire) but all the arguments and intreaties of theſe great men, were loſt upon this devoted woman, who with a firmneſs which would have done honour to a better cauſe, adhered to the party ſhe had eſpouſed, and reſolved to merit the crown of martyrdom from the Roman pontiff; for, upon no conſideration could ſhe be prevailed upon to break off her connections and correſpondence with the Engliſh, the Iriſh, and the Scotch papiſts, who were declared enemies to Elizabeth, and were continually forming plans to deſtroy

deſtroy the happy conſtitution in church and ſtate, now firmly eſtabliſhed, and glorioufly maintained by the wiſdom of her councils, and the valour of her fleets and armies.

Yet Elizabeth, though ſhe thought it highly expedient for her own ſecurity, to detain her in cuſtody, ſhewed no inclination to proceed to violent meaſures againſt her, in the courſe of fifteen years, from the time of Norfolk's execution, when the parliament addreſſed her Majeſty to proceed capitally againſt her.

In fact, ſhe relied ſo entirely on the vigilance, the policy, and the general influence of lord Burleigh, whom, upon the death of the marquiſs of Wincheſter, in 1572, ſhe raiſed to the office of lord high treaſurer, that ſhe gave herſelf little or no concern about the queen of the Scots, till ſuch daring attempts were made againſt her royal perſon, that ſhe began to think ſhe ſhould fall a victim to her own, and Burleigh's moderation; and therefore, upon the conviction of Babington, on whoſe trial it appeared that he was countenanced by Mary, and her party, ſhe was more cloſely confined, and at length removed to Fotheringay-caſtle, in Northamptonſhire, in order to take her trial, a commiſſion being iſſued out for that purpoſe, by the advice of the privy-council, in the month of October 1586.

It is a difficult matter to determine whether Mary was guilty or not, as an accomplice, in any direct attempt, againſt the life of Elizabeth; and charity ſhould incline us to believe her own dying words upon this tender point; for though the commiſſioners, before whom ſhe was tried, unanimouſly found her guilty of having been privy to Babington's conſpiracy, yet the whole charge reſted chiefly on the evidences of Nau and Curle, her two ſecretaries, who had deſerted her in her misfortunes, and

had been countenanced by the Engliſh miniſtry to betray her.

Indeed, it would have ſhewn more temper and ſounder policy to have proceeded againſt her, on the heavy accuſations brought againſt her by her own ſubjects, particularly her being acceſſary to the murder of lord Darnley, her ſecond huſband; and they were certainly competent to try her on this charge, as lord Darnley was an Engliſh ſubject.

However, from the high rank, conſummate knowledge of the laws, and the great number of the commiſſioners, being no leſs than forty-two of the chief perſons in the kingdom, including five of the judges, the majority of our hiſtorians decide, that ſhe had an impartial trial, and was clearly convicted of "conſpiring the deſtruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the proteſtant religion." Thuanus, the celebrated French hiſtorian, likewiſe obſerves, that, "though there were ſeveral popiſh lords in the commiſſion, even theſe found her guilty of the impeachment."

The diſcovery of the correſpondence between Mary and Babington, was effected by the policy of Sir Francis Walſingham; but the bringing the royal criminal to condign puniſhment, required a degree of firmneſs and reſolution ſuited to the criſis; and nothing but a conſciouſneſs of the rectitude of the meaſure, of the aſcendency he had gained over the queen, and of the popularity he had acquired by his public virtues and his private beneficent character, could have ſupported Cecil, under that load of cenſure which fell upon him from all quarters, as the chief cauſe of Mary's execution.

But, being now fully convinced, that the ſafety of his ſovereign and of his country, depended on cutting off the hopes of the popiſh faction, by making a ſacrifice of their chief, the only branch of the royal blood devoted to their cauſe, the ſentence

tence pronounced againſt Mary was executed, near four months after her trial: ſhe ſuffered in the great hall of Fotheringay-caſtle, on the 8th of February 1587, in the 46th year of her age. She met death with noble fortitude, and with pious reſignation; and it may be truly ſaid, that the laſt moments of her life, did her more honour than all her preceding years.

Queen Elizabeth, apprehenſive that this execution would excite great clamours againſt her in all the popiſh courts of Europe, artfully endeavoured to throw the blame of it upon Daviſon, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, to whoſe department it belonged to get the warrants ſigned, after the condemnation of criminals; who, accordingly, preſented the warrant for the execution of Mary to the queen, ſoon after ſentence was paſſed, and her Majeſty ſigned it, without heſitation; but ſhe afterwards declared, that ſhe had charged him not to part with it, nor even to let any perſon know ſhe had ſigned it.

Daviſon however, from hints dropped by the queen at ſundry times, which ſhewed her ſecret deſire to have her taken off, thought it his duty, to inform the privy-council, that the warrant lay in his office ſigned; and ſome of the lords, knowing that the queen had reproached the council in private, for their dilatorineſs in this affair, made a motion at the board, that orders ſhould be given to Daviſon to forward the warrant to Fotheringay-caſtle, without the queen's knowledge, which was agreed to, and the execution followed; for which Elizabeth thought proper to proſecute Daviſon, as her own immediate ſervant, in the ſtar-chamber, where he was fined 10,000*l.* and ſentenced to impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure, for having diſobeyed her Majeſty's ſecret orders.

As for lord Burleigh, being convinced in his own mind, that Davison had acted the very part the queen wished, though she denied it to the world, he remonstrated with great freedom, against the disgrace of Davison, in a letter to the queen, still extant.

One of the chief objects of the mighty preparations made in Spain in the course of this year, for invading England, was to release Mary, and to replace her on the throne of Scotland; but by the assiduity and great abilities of lord Burleigh, the whole expedition failed for this year, as we have related in the life of Sir Francis Drake.

The following year however, the Spaniards resolved upon ample vengeance; and the thunder of the vatican was fulminated in aid of the Spanish arms. Excommunications, anathemas, denunciations of the wrath of heaven, and every other popish engine of terror, was made use of, to shake the allegiance of the English, and to terrify them into defection from their renowned sovereign. But lord Burleigh had taken advantage of ten years of peace, to put the nation in such a posture of defence, as to be able to resist the attempts of the most formidable enemy. The navy had been considerably improved and augmented, and the seamen kept in practice, by the frequent naval expeditions, sent out in quest of discoveries, under the great admirals, whose lives we have already given. The army likewise was well disciplined, and had gained experience in several campaigns in Holland and in Ireland. And so exact was his intelligence, in foreign parts, that, to use the words of Lloyd, "he could write to a friend in Ireland, what the king of Spain could do for two years together, and what he could not do."

The defeat of the Spanish Armada, having delivered the nation from all further apprehensions of

a revolution in religion, and the queen from the perſonal dangers to which ſhe had been continually expoſed, the plots for aſſaſſinating her Majeſty, having for their ultimate object, the ſubjection of the realm to the ſee of Rome; univerſal joy and tranſport prevailed among all orders and ranks of people.

But the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction which Burleigh muſt have felt, on this final happy iſſue of all his political manœuvres at home and abroad, was chequered with an adverſe ſtroke of fortune, in his family, which caſt a gloom of melancholy over his remaining days. In the beginning of the year 1589, he loſt his ſecond wife, a lady diſtinguiſhed by her rare talents, being no leſs celebrated for her piety and learning, than for thoſe domeſtic virtues which rendered her the ornament and example of her ſex. This affliction was the more ſeverely felt, from their long and happy union, lady Burleigh having been the faithful companion of her huſband upwards of forty-three years. She was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and had been educated with lady Jane Grey, from whom ſhe imbibed a taſte for the learned languages, in which ſhe was well ſkilled; and when her lord's proſperity placed her in a ſituation to act agreeably to her diſpoſition, ſhe was a conſtant patroneſs of learned men; and, among other inſtances of her benevolence, ſhe founded two perpetual fellowſhips in St. John's-college, Cambridge.

It was now, that almoſt exhauſted with inceſſant application to public buſineſs, and rendered infirm, by that moſt painful diſtemper the gout, this great ſtateſman earneſtly ſolicited leave to reſign all his employments; but the queen, who knew the value of ſuch an able ſenator, and ſteady counſellor, whoſe wiſdom increaſed with his grey hairs, would by no means conſent to it: but to conſole him for his

great loſs, ſhe paid him frequent viſits, and took every opportunity to do him honour in the eyes of the people, than which nothing could be better calculated to ſoothe and flatter declining age, and to excite it to freſh exertions of zeal in the public ſervice. Accordingly, we find, the good old man very active, upon ſundry occaſions, during the laſt ten years of his uſeful life. In 1591, the queen founded the univerſity of Dublin, by the advice of lord Burleigh, by whom the plan of education was drawn up; and in 1593, he had the management or direction of every branch of adminiſtration, filling the dangerous poſt of prime miniſter, and acquitting himſelf of all its painful and extenſive duties with as much ability, accuracy, and diſpatch, as if he had been in the prime of life.

"To him all ranks of people addreſſed themſelves, to the very laſt. The biſhops and clergy for encouragement, protection, and preferment: the puritans, (who were perſecuted againſt his opinion in council) for favourable treatment and relief from the oppreſſions of the prelates, and of the eccleſiaſtical courts: fugitives in foreign countries for pardon, which he granted, in conſideration of the intelligence they procured him of the deſigns of the popes, and of the king of Spain, againſt his country. The lieutenants of counties for inſtructions and advice: the admirals for fleets and ſupplies; in a word, the intereſts of the ſtate abroad, and its domeſtic tranquillity at home, were provided for, and preſerved to the lateſt hour of his life.

"At length, his diſſolution approached by ſlow and eaſy gradations; and in fact, his diſeaſe, properly ſpeaking, was nothing more than the decay of old age, haſtened by inceſſant labour, and fatigue of mind and body.

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"His death was not ſudden, nor his pain in ſickneſs great; for he continued languiſhing two or three months, yet went abroad to take the air in his coach all that time; retiring from the court, ſometimes to his houſe at Theobald's, and ſometimes at London. His greateſt apparent infirmity, was the weakneſs of his ſtomach. It was alſo thought his mind was troubled, that he could not effect a peace for his country, which he earneſtly deſired, ſeeking to leave it as he had long kept it.

"About ten or twelve days before he died, he grew weak, and ſo driven to keep his bed, complaining only of a pain in his breaſt; which was thought to be the humour of the gout, wherewith he was ſo long poſſeſſed, falling to that place, without any ague, fever, or ſign of diſtemper; and that pain not great nor continual, but by fits; and ſo continued till within one night before his death. He expired on the 4th of Auguſt, 1598.

"Now might one ſee all the world mourning; the queen, for an old and true ſervant; the council, for a wiſe and grave counſellor; the court, for their honourable benefactor; his country, and commonwe lth, trembling as it were at one blow, to have their head ſtricken off; the people, widows, and wards, lamenting to loſe their protector; religion, her patron; juſtice, her true miniſter; and peace, her upholder. His children bewailing the loſs of ſuch a father, his friends of ſuch a friend, and his ſervants of ſuch a maſter; all men rather bewailing his loſs, than hoping ever to find ſuch another. Yea, his very enemies, who in his lifetime could not abide him, did now both ſorrow for his death, and wiſh him alive again.

"He was the oldeſt, the graveſt, and greateſt ſtateſman of Chriſtendom; for there was, before his death, never a counſellor left alive in Europe, that were counſellors when he was firſt made.

As to his perſon, it is thus deſcribed, by his cotemporaries. "He was rather well proportioned than tall, being of the middle ſize, very ſtraight and upright of body and legs, and, until age and his infirmity of the gout ſurpriſed him, very active and nimble of body."

After ſuch an ample account of the moſt important tranſactions in the life of this great man, in his public capacity, we muſt be excuſed in deviating from the conduct of ſome modern compilers, who have ſwelled his memoirs, with long details of his private concerns, and tedious repetitions, of characters drawn of him by various authors.

Indeed, ſome of them have given nothing elſe, but an extract from an ancient manuſcript in the library of the earl of Exeter, publiſhed by Arthur Collins, Eſq; in 1732. And, among the reſt, the editor of the firſt edition of the Britiſh Plutarch fell into this error; and reprinted a kind of diary or journal, of the private life of Cecil, inſtead of recording the great public tranſactions of the ſtateſman.

Yet that we may not be accuſed of any deficiency, in this moſt valuable article, we have ſubjoined the beſt ſummary extant of lord Burleigh's general character, drawn by that able hiſtorian, the learned Camden, who ſurvived him, many years, but who flouriſhed with him in the reign of Elizabeth.

"Having lived long enough to nature, and long enough to his own glory, but not long enough to his country, he reſigned his ſoul to God with ſo much peace and tranquillity, that the greateſt enemy he had, freely declared, that he envied him nothing, but that his ſun went down with ſo much luſtre; whereas, generally, public miniſters are not bleſſed with ſuch calm and fortunate periods."

"Certainly

"Certainly he was a moſt excellent man; for he was ſo liberally furniſhed by nature (to ſay nothing of his preſence and aſpect, which had a commanding ſweetneſs in them) and ſo poliſhed and adorned with learning and education, that every way, for honeſty, gravity, temperance, induſtry, and juſtice, he was a moſt accompliſhed perſon."

He had alſo, an eaſy and flowing eloquence, which conſiſted not in a pomp and oſtentation of words, but in a maſculine plainneſs and ſignificancy of ſenſe. He was maſter of a prudence formed upon experience, and regulated by temper and moderation: his loyalty was true, and would endure the touch, and was only exceeded by his piety, which indeed was eminently great.

To ſum up all in a word, the queen was happy in ſo great a counſellor, and the ſtate of England for ever indebted to him for his ſage and prudent counſel.

I ſhall forbear too laviſh a commendation of him; but this I may venture to affirm with truth, that he was one of thoſe few, who lived and died with equal glory. Such a man, as while others regard with admiration, I, after the ancient manner, am rather inclined to contemplate with the ſacred applauſe of ſilent veneration."

Lord Burleigh left two ſons, Thomas, the eldeſt, by his firſt wife, who was created earl of Exeter by James I. which title continues in the ſame family at this time.

The youngeſt, by his ſecond wife, was Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards earl of Saliſbury, who ſucceeded him in all his offices. And this title likewiſe continues in the family.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Cecil by Collins, 1732. Lloyd's State Worthies. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian. Biog. Britan. Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.

The LIFE of ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL of ESSEX.

[A. D. 1567, to 1601.]

ROBERT DEVEREUX, was the eldeſt ſon of Walter, the firſt earl of Eſſex, by Lettitia, the daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, who was related to queen Elizabeth. He was born in the year 1567, at Netherwood, his father's ſeat, in Herefordſhire.

In his tender years, he gave no tokens of a bright genius; but, on the contrary, he was ſo backward in his learning, that his father died with a very cold conceit of his abilities; which, ſome thought, proceeded from his great affection for his younger ſon, Walter Devereux, who, it ſeems, had quicker and more livelier parts in his childhood. However, when he breathed his laſt in Ireland, he recommended his ſon Robert, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Suſſex; and to the care of lord Burleigh, whom he appointed his guardian.

Mr. Waterhouſe, then ſecretary for Ireland, a perſon equally favoured by his father and Sir Henry Sidney, lord-deputy of Ireland, had the immediate direction of his perſon and eſtate, which, though not a little injured by his father's public ſpirit, was,

was, however, very conſiderable; and the regard ſhewn for his concerns, by the moſt powerful perſons at court, was ſo remarkable, that Mr. Waterhouſe made no difficulty of affirming, there was not, at that time, any man ſo ſtrong in friends as the little earl of Eſſex.

In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge by lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity-college, under the care of Dr. Whitgift, the maſter, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury. Here he firſt began to apply himſelf to learning, with uncommon aſſiduity: ſo that in a ſhort time, he ſurpaſſed all the young n blemen of his age in the univerſity.

In 1582, having taken the degree of maſter of arts, he ſoon after left Cambridge, and retired to his own houſe at Lambſie, in South-Wales, where he ſpent ſome time in privacy and retirement; and was ſo far from having any thing of the eagerneſs or impetuoſity natural to youth, that he grew fond of his rural retreat; ſo that it was with difficulty, he was prevailed upon to leave it.

His firſt appearance at court, at leaſt as a candidate for royal favour, was in the ſeventeenth year of his age: however, when he came thither, it is certain, he could not have hoped, or even wiſhed, a better reception. He brought with him, with other powerful recommendations, a fine perſon, a polite addreſs, and an affability which procured him many friends.

Beſides theſe qualifications, which, together with his high rank, and the interceſſion of his friends, recommended him to the notice of the queen, it muſt not be forgot, that his mother, who was her Majeſty's couſin, not long after his father's death, had married the famous earl of Leiceſter, the queen's favourite. At firſt however, the young earl of Eſſex ſhewed a ſtrong reluctance to make any uſe of

of Leiceſter's intereſt, being diſguſted at his mother's ſecond marriage; but in the end, by the perſuaſion of his beſt friends, he was ſo far reconciled to Leiceſter, that, towards the cloſe of the year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the nobility, to Holland; where we find him the next year in the field, with the title of general of the horſe; and, in this quality, he gave the higheſt proofs of perſonal courage, in the battle of Zutphen; and, for his gallant behaviour upon this occaſion, the earl of Leiceſter conferred upon him the honour of a knight-banneret in his camp.

On his return to England, it very quickly appeared, that the queen not only approved, but was deſirous alſo of rewarding, his ſervices; and his ſtep-father, the earl of Leiceſter, being advanced to the office of lord-ſteward of her Majeſty's houſehold, in 1587, the earl of Eſſex ſucceeded him as maſter of the horſe.

The following year, when her Majeſty thought fit to aſſemble the army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom, in caſe the Spaniards had landed, and gave the command of it, under herſelf, to Leiceſter, ſhe created the earl of Eſſex general of the horſe: ſo that, from this time, he was conſidered as the riſing favourite; and in this opinion of him, the people were ſoon confirmed, by the queen's conferring on him, ſhortly after, the moſt noble order of the garter.

The earl of Leiceſter's death, which happened the ſame year, placed this new favourite on the pinnacle of proſperity, he had now no rival near the throne; but, on the contrary, the chief perſon in power, lord Burleigh, was his patron.

From this time, the queen ſhewed a deciſive partiality in his favour, which, joined to his rapid promotions, affected his better judgement, obſcured his reaſon, and made him give way to the impetuous

tuous ſallies of pride, vanity, and arrogance, the effects of which diſcovered themſelves occaſionally in rude behaviour to the queen, who was pleaſed with the following incident, which gave a check to his preſumption.

Sir Charles Blount (afterwards earl of Devonſhire) a very handſome youth, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf at a tilting-match, her Majeſty ſent him a cheſs-queen of gold enamelled, which he tied upon his arm with a crimſon ribbon. Eſſex perceiving it, fired with jealouſy, cried out, with affected diſdain, "now I perceive, every fool muſt have a favour." This affront was juſtly reſented by Sir Charles, who thereupon challenged Eſſex: they fought in Marybone-park, and the earl was diſarmed, and wounded in the thigh. The queen was ſo far from being diſpleaſed at the diſgrace that had befallen her favourite, who in affronting Sir Charles, had called in queſtion her judgement, that ſhe ſwore a round oath, that it was fit that ſome one or other ſhould take him down, otherwiſe there would be no ruling him. However, ſhe reconciled the rivals, who to their honour continued good friends as long as they lived.

In the beginning of the year 1589, Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, undertook an expedition for reſtoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal; which the earl beheld as an action too glorious for others to perform, while he was only a ſpectator. He, therefore, followed the fleet and army to Spain, and, having joined them at Corunna, proſecuted the reſt of the expedition with great vigilance and valour; which was not attended with much ſucceſs, and it expoſed him to the queen's diſpleaſure, for he went without her Majeſty's leave. At his return, however, he ſoon recovered her good graces; nor was it long before this was teſtified to the world, by his obtaining

new

new marks of favour, in grants of a very conſiderable value; a circumſtance in which his credit with the queen ſeemed much ſuperior to that of all her other favourites.

About this time, he ran a new hazard of the queen's favour, by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconſiderate match with Frances, the only daughter of Sir Francis Walſingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney; which her Majeſty apprehended to be, in ſome meaſure, derogatory to the honour of the houſe of Eſſex; and, though, for the preſent, this buſineſs was paſſed by, yet it is thought that it was not ſoon forgotten.

In 1591, Henry IV. of France, having demanded freſh aſſiſtance from the queen, though he had already a body of her troops in his ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed to ſend the earl of Eſſex, with four thouſand men, a ſmall train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy; where it was propoſed that he ſhould join the French army, in order to undertake the ſiege of Rouen. The French king, however, either through want of power, the diſtraction of his affairs, or ſome other cauſe, neglected to perform the conditions upon which the ſuccours were ſent, though Eſſex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that monarch's requeſt, in order to concert meaſures for giving the queen ſatisfaction.

Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little conſequence, Eſſex, to keep up the ſpirits of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them:——A circumſtance with which the queen was much offended. He likewiſe made excurſions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen and expoſed his perſon very freely in theſe ſkirmiſhes, and came off unhurt, but he was much blamed for his raſhneſs, his younger brother,

brother, Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being ſlain in one of theſe mad exploits.

He went to England ſoon after, to give an account of the ſtate of things to the queen; and then returned to take the command of his troops: the ſiege of Rouen being formed, and the French king expreſſing a great deſire to become maſter of it.

This winter ſervice harraſſing the troops exceedingly, provoked Eſſex not a little, who ſolicited king Henry for leave to proceed in his manner, promiſing to make a breach with his own artillery, and then to ſtorm the place with the Engliſh troops, which the king refuſed, being unwilling to let the Engliſh take and plunder one of the richeſt towns in his dominions.

Eſſex, ſtill more diſpleaſed at this, and reſolving not to continue in a place where no reputation could be acquired, challenged the governor of Rouen, Mr. Villars; and, upon his refuſing to fight, he left the command of the Engliſh troops to Sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience, and then embarked for England, where his preſence was become very neceſſary, his enemies having repreſented his behaviour in a very different light to the queen.

The next mention made of him by reſpectable hiſtorians, relates to his being preſent in the parliament which began at Weſtminſter in February, 1595; in which ſeſſion, chiefly through his intereſt, Sir Thomas Perrot, (the ſon of the unfortunate Sir John Perrot) who had married his ſiſter, was reſtored in blood.

About this time the queen raiſed him to the dignity of an efficient privy-counſellor, which in our day, is ſtyled, a cabinet-counſellor.

He met, however, in this, and in the ſucceeding years, with various cauſes of chagrin; partly from

from the loftineſs of his own temper, and partly from the artifices of thoſe who envied his greatneſs.

A dangerous and treaſonable book, written abroad by a jeſuit, was publiſhed under the name of Doleman, with a view to create diſſention in England about the ſucceſſion to the crown. This book, as the whole deſign of it was moſt villainous, ſo, from a ſuperior ſpirit of malice, it was dedicated to the earl of Eſſex, on purpoſe to give him trouble; in which it had its effect; but his great popularity at this time, raiſed him ſo many friends, that in the end, the artifice of his enemies was diſcovered, and both they and the book fell into that contempt they ſo juſtly merited.

Eſſex was ambitious of military fame, and uneaſy without it; this made him ſolicit the queen for the command of the land forces ſent out with the fleet, under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, againſt the Spaniſh colonies in 1594, but the queen abſolutely refuſed him, and upon this occaſion manifeſted a perſonal intereſt in his ſafety, which expoſed her to defamatory cenſures. She told him, "She loved him and her realm too "much to hazard his perſon in any leſſer action "than that which ſhould import her crown and "ſtate; and therefore willed him to be content;" and in order to make him ſo, though ſhe was generally very parſimonious, ſhe gave him a warrant for 4000 *l.* adding theſe remarkable words, "Look "to thyſelf, good Eſſex, and be wiſe to thyſelf, "without giving thy enemies advantage, and my "hand ſhall be readier to help thee than any other."

Thus diſappointed of going abroad, Eſſex employed his talents at home in cultivating the queen's good graces and the favour of the people, and he happily ſucceeded in both, to which an alarming conſpiracy againſt the queen diſcovered

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by him, greatly contributed. Roderigo Lopez, a Portugueſe Jew, of whoſe medical abilities and integrity queen Elizabeth entertained ſo high an opinion, that ſhe made him her domeſtic phyſician, had been bribed by the agents of Spain to poiſon the queen; but by the activity and vigilance of Eſſex, and of his dependants, who frequented the palace, and were familiar with the royal houſehold, the whole diabolical plan was traced and detected. Lopez, and two other Portugueſe ſubjects, were condemned and executed for high treaſon, and Eſſex was highly extolled by the whole nation. And after this affair, the queen could not decently deny him thoſe military honours he had ſo long ſolicited in vain.

Accordingly, in 1596, when the Spaniards laid ſiege to Calais, and the diſcharges of their artillery were heard at Greenwich, an army was haſtily raiſed, and marched to Dover, the command of which was given to the earl of Eſſex, the queen intending to have embarked theſe troops for the aſſiſtance of the French: which, however, they wiſely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards keep Calais for a ſhort time, than to ſee it reſcued from them by the Engliſh, who would, preſuming on their old rights, probably keep it for ever.

But the queen taking advantage of the diſpoſition which appeared in her people, to contribute, as far as in them lay, to keep the war at a diſtance, and to prevent the Spaniards from meditating a ſecond invaſion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for attacking Cadiz, beſt part of the expences being borne by the principal perſons engaged in that enterprize.

The command of the army and of the fleet for this expedition was intruſted to the earl of Eſſex, and lord Howard, then lord high admiral of England,

land, with joint and equal authority: the fleet, for its number of ships, and for the land soldiers and mariners aboard, being the most considerable that in those times had been seen at sea.

Amongst other persons of distinction, who served on this expedition were, lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh; Sir Francis Vere, a veteran general, and who had acquired immortal fame in several campaigns in Holland and Flanders: Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford, and these were nominated to be a council of war to the commanders in chief, upon any emergency. The English fleet consisted of 150 sail, and they were joined by a Dutch fleet, consisting of 24 ships of the line, under the command of admiral Vanderwood.

On the first of June they sailed from Plymouth, but were forced to put back by a contrary wind; which changing, they took the first opportunity of putting again to sea. On the 18th of the same month, they arrived at Cape St. Vincent, where they met with an Irish bark, which informed them that the port of Cadiz was full of rich merchant ships, and that they had no notice whatever of the sailing of the English fleet, or that such an expedition was so much as intended.

After this welcome news they pursued their voyage, and, on the 20th, in the morning, they anchored near St. Sebastian's, on the west side of the island of Cadiz, where the admiral would have had the forces landed, in order to their immediately attacking the town; which Essex caused to be attempted, but found it to be impracticable; and, upon the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, desisted.

It was then proposed by the earl to begin with attacking the fleet, which was a very hazardous enterprize, but, at last, agreed to by the lord-admiral;

admiral; on which Eſſex, when he received the news, threw his hat into the ſea for joy. The next day, this gallant reſolution was executed with all imaginable bravery, and, in point of ſervice, none did better, or hazarded his perſon more, than the earl of Eſſex, who, in his own ſhip, the Due Repulſe, went to the aſſiſtance of Sir Walter Raleigh, and offered, if it had been neceſſary, to have ſeconded him in boarding the St. Philip. The Spaniards behaved very gallanty, ſo long as there were any hopes; and, when there were none, ſet fire to their ſhips and retired.

The earl of Eſſex then landed 800 men at the port of Puntall; and having firſt taken proper meaſures for deſtroying the bridge, he attacked the place with ſo much fury, that it was quickly taken; and, the next day the citadel ſurrendered upon capitulation, by which a great ranſom was ſtipulated for the town. An offer was then made of two millions of ducats to ſpare the ſhips, and more might have been obtained; but the lord high-admiral ſaid, He came there to conſume, and not to compound: when the Spaniards were informed of this, they reſolved to have the burning of their own fleet, which they accordingly ſet on fire; and their loſs was computed at twenty millions.

The earl was very deſirous of keeping Cadiz, which he offered to have done with a very ſmall garriſon; but the council differed from him in opinion: ſo that, having plundered the iſland and demoliſhed the forts, they embarked on the fifth of July, and bore away for the port of Faro, a biſhop's ſee in Portugal, which they plundered and deſtroyed, and a very valuable library belonging to Jerom Oſorius, a celebrated Portugueſe prelate, who died in 1580, fell to the ſhare of the earl of Eſſex, who, generouſly gave it to the Bodleian library,

library, founded by Sir Thomas Bodley the following year, 1597.

They then proceeded to Cape St. Vincent, and, being driven by a briſk wind out to ſea, it fell under conſideration, whether they ſhould not ſail for the Azores, in hopes of intercepting the plate fleet, which was carried in the negative; and the earl's propoſal, with two of her majeſty's ſhips, and ten others, to make this attempt, likewiſe was rejected, which Camden attributes to the deſire of ſome of the officers, who had made large booties, to get their treaſure ſafe on ſhore. They looked in, however, at Corunna, and the earl would have proceeded to St. Andreo and St. Sebaſtian; but others thinking they had done enough, the whole fleet returned proſperouſly to Plymouth on the 8th and 10th of Auguſt following.

The earl of Eſſex was ſo much diſguſted at the other officers, for refuſing to concur in the enterprizes he had propoſed, that after his return, he drew up and diſperſed an account of this expedition, in which he freely cenſured the conduct of his brother officers, not ſparing even the lord-high admiral himſelf: this produced a recrimination, in which Eſſex was charged with want of cool judgment, and intemperate raſhneſs. His adverſaries likewiſe being men of approved valour, and long experience, he created a number of powerful enemies by this indiſcreet ſtep, and they never forgave him.

The party againſt him was daily ſtrengthened, by all who envied his greatneſs, and the firſt meaſure they took, was, to make the queen jealous of his popularity; on this account, they told her majeſty, that it would not be at all expedient for her ſervice to receive ſuch as he recommended to civil employments; and this they carried ſo far as to make even his approbation deſtructive to mens fortunes

fortunes whom themſelves they had encouraged and recommended. A thing hardly to be credited, if we had not the higheſt evidence to prove it.

It was a natural conſequence, that the earl ſhould behave to thoſe he took to be the authors of ſuch counſels with viſible marks of anger and diſcontent; and this conduct of his, made him frequently upon bad terms even with the queen herſelf, who was a princeſs very jealous of her authority, and, in caſes of this nature, bore but very indifferently with any expoſtulations. However, as well out of her natural kindneſs to him, as from a deſire of ſhewing a juſt acknowledgment for his late ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed to appoint him maſter of the ordnance by patent, in the year 1597.

This ſeems to have had a good effect, in quieting the mind, and raiſing the ſpirits of the diſcontented Eſſex, who, upon a report that the Spaniards were forming a new fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, for the invaſion of Ireland at leaſt, if not England, readily offered his ſervice to the queen, and chearfully declared, as Camden aſſures us, that he would either defeat this new armada, which had threatened England for a year together, or periſh in the attempt. The queen, well pleaſed with this propoſal, gave it all the countenance that could be deſired, and cauſed a conſiderable fleet, though not ſo conſiderable as the action required, to be equipped for this ſervice; and the earl of Eſſex was appointed general, admiral, and commander in chief.

We may gueſs at the intereſt which the earl had in the ſucceſs of this voyage by the number of his friends who engaged therein as volunteers; particularly, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the lords Cromwell and Rich. And his ſecret enemies obſerving his influence over the queen, could not refuſe to ſerve under him in this expedition.

dition. His ſanguine hopes, however, were, in ſome meaſure diſappointed; for, ſailing about the ninth of July, 1597, from Plymouth, they met, at ſixty leagues diſtance, with ſo rough a ſtorm, and of four days continuance, that they were obliged to put back to Plymouth, where they remained wind-bound for a month; in which time a great part of their proviſions was conſumed.

While the fleet was thus laid up, the earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Raleigh ſet out poſt for the court, in order to receive freſh inſtructions. The propoſals made by Eſſex, even after this diſappointment, were very bold and great; but, as Camden ſeems to inſinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; ſo that the queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the commanders in chief, according as the ſeaſon and circumſtances might encourage or permit.

The fleet being refitted, and victualled, Eſſex put all the land-forces on ſhore, and diſbanded them by the queen's expreſs command, except 1000 veterans, the regiment belonging to Sir Francis Vere, who went on the expedition. On the 17th of Auguſt, the fleet ſailed a ſecond time from Plymouth, having now two points in view, the one to burn the Spaniſh fleet in their own harbours, the other to intercept the homeward-bound Plate-fleet, expected to touch as uſual, about this time, at the Azores.

Eſſex therefore made the beſt of his way for theſe iſlands; but firſt he took care to inform Sir Walter Raleigh, who commanded one diviſion of the fleet, that he himſelf intended to attack Fayal, one of thoſe iſlands. By ſome accident the ſquadrons ſeparated, and Raleigh arriving firſt, and juſtly apprehending that the ſmalleſt delay might have prevented their deſign, very gallantly attacked, and very

very happily ſucceeded, in making himſelf maſter of the iſland, before the arrival of Eſſex with the reſt of the fleet.

But Eſſex, jealous of Raleigh, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at his conduct, and conſtruing it into a deſign to rob him of the honour of the conqueſt, he caſhiered the captains who ſerved under Raleigh, and would have ſhewn his reſentment to the admiral himſelf, if lord Thomas Howard had not prevailed on Raleigh to make ſome conceſſions to the earl, as his ſuperior in command, which produced a temporary reconciliation between them.

The Spaniſh fleet, the grand object of the expedition, got ſafe into the port of Angra, owing to the miſconduct of one of the pilots, who diſſuaded Eſſex from ſtaying at Gracioſa, where the whole fleet always touched; alledging, that the haven was unſafe, which occaſioned a ſeparation of the Engliſh fleet, into different diviſions, with a view of intercepting the Spaniards; and thus they paſſed unſeen, except by Sir William Monſon, a naval officer of diſtinguiſhed reputation, who had ſignalized himſelf in almoſt every engagement againſt the Spaniards, and was but ill-requited for his great ſervices, in the reign of James I. This brave officer's ſtation happened to be moſt remote from the Spaniſh fleet, yet he was the only commander who obſerved them, and gave the proper ſignals for a general chace, but without effect. However, the earl of Eſſex fell in with three rich Spaniſh merchant-men from the Havannah; the value of whoſe cargoes, according to Sir William Monſon's account of this voyage, more than defrayed the expences of the whole armament.

Eſſex, greatly chagrined at the eſcape of the Plate-fleet, reſolved to attempt ſome enterpriſe of conſequence, that might keep up his popularity. With this view, he took the town of Villa Franca by

by ſurpriſe, and pillaged it, after which he ſet ſail for England; and, on his paſſage, he had certainly fell in with a formidable fleet of Spaniſh men of war, deſtined to make a ſecond attempt to invade England, if a violent ſtorm had not prevented it, and greatly damaged the Engliſh fleet. But the ſame ſtorm proved ſtill more fatal to the enemy, who loſt eighteen capital ſhips; and the reſt being diſperſed, this projected invaſion failed.

The earl of Eſſex immediately began to ſhew evident ſigns of deep diſpleaſure, he retired to his houſe at Wanſtead, and, under pretence of ſickneſs, abſented himſelf from the ſervice of parliament, then ſitting. Camden reports, that his diſſatisfaction aroſe from the lord admiral's being created earl of Nottingham in his abſence, with ſome particular clauſes in the preamble of his patent, which, as they were highly honourable for that noble peer, Eſſex conceived threw ſome diſparagement upon himſelf. And, by way of ſatisfaction, he was created earl marſhal of England, in December, 1597.

Another cauſe of diſguſt was, the appointment of Sir Robert Cecil, in his abſence, to the office of ſecretary of ſtate: this gentleman was a ſecret enemy to Eſſex, and reſtrained only from oppoſing him to the utmoſt, by the advice of his father, the good old lord treaſurer Burleigh. And, as if Elizabeth meant to apologize to her favourite for every ſtep ſhe took contrary to his inclinations, ſhe made Eſſex a preſent of ſeven thouſand pounds, to reconcile him to the promotion of Sir Robert Cecil, with whom he appears to have been upon good terms, ſoon after; for Sir Robert being ſent on an embaſſy to France, he undertook the diſcharge of the duties of his office, during his abſence; but on Cecil's return in May 1598, with an account of a peace being concluded between Henry IV. of France,

France, and Philip II. of Spain, a peace between England and Spain was propoſed, which cauſed violent diſputes in the council about the expediency of that meaſure, which was very earneſtly, as well as eloquently preſſed by the old and wiſe lord treaſurer Burleigh; and as warmly decried by the earl of Eſſex. The treaſurer, at length, grew into a great heat; inſomuch that he told the earl, that he ſeemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and ſlaughter. Eſſex explained himſelf upon this, that the blood and ſlaughter of the queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention: that he was not againſt a ſolid, but a ſpecious and precarious peace; that the Spaniards were a ſubtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more miſchief in time of peace than of war; and, that, as to an enemy, whoſe hands it was impoſſible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own. The treaſurer at laſt produced a prayer-book, in which he ſhewed Eſſex this paſſage, "Men of blood ſhall not live out half their days."

Eſſex, in vindication of his own opinion, drew up an APOLOGY, (which he addreſſed to his learned friend Mr. Anthony Bacon) "againſt thoſe who jealouſly and maliciouſly tax him to be the only hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country:" this piece, is a laſting memorial of his great abilities, both as a ſtateſman, and a writer; but being printed and publiſhed, it gave great offence to the queen, who abhorred nothing ſo much, as ſubmitting any political meaſure to the notice, and conſequently to the ſtrictures of the people.

To add to his misfortune, death deprived him of his great patron the lord Burleigh; and now his enemies, freed from all reſtraint, began to form a powerful party againſt him. But he ſtill had ſuch an aſcendency over the queen, that if he had kept within the bounds of decent reſpect to his ſove-

reign, all their attempts to disgrace him would have been abortive.

By the death of the lord-treasurer Burleigh, the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge became vacant; upon which, that learned body chose the earl of Essex in his room. Upon this account he went down to pay them a visit, was entertained at Queen's-college with great magnificence; and, as a proof of their affection, the room in which he slept was, long after, distinguished by the name of Essex-chamber. We may account this one of the last instances of this great man's felicity, for he was now advanced too high to sit at ease; and those who wished for his honours and his employments, watched every opportunity to accomplish his fall.

In this situation of his affairs, unfortunately, instead of controuling his high and stubborn spirit, he suffered his passions to get the better of his reason, when his advice was not followed, he assumed the tone of a dictator; and if this failed him, he then affected to treat his opponents with supercilious contempt. In a dispute with the queen, concerning the choice of a proper person to be sent out governor of Ireland, towards the end of the year 1598, unable to prevail upon her Majesty to relinquish her own nomination of Sir William Knollys, the earl's uncle, in opposition to his recommendation of Sir George Carew, he had the insolence to turn his back upon her Majesty, who, taking fire at this unmanly resentment, instantly gave him a violent blow on the cheek; at the same time, bidding him go and be hanged.

The exasperated earl, losing all presence of mind, committed a second error, as unmanly as the first, for he put his hand to his sword; upon which the lord high admiral rushed in between him and the queen, and Essex withdrew, swearing bitterly, that he neither could, nor would put up with such an affront;

affront; but thoſe, who make him guilty of a third miſtake ſtill groſſer than all the reſt, ſeem to have been as mad as himſelf. They add, that he ſaid he would not have taken it from Henry VIII. himſelf. Aſſuredly, a great general might have been excuſed for reſenting a blow from a royal maſter, which he ought to have overlooked from the hand of a royal miſtreſs, who had loaded him with favours.

His ruin may be dated from this event, for Elizabeth, naturally jealous of her authority, and alarmed at the impetuoſity of his temper, though ſhe appeared to be reconciled to him, from a motive of prudence, no longer placed the ſame unlimited confidence in him.

An event happened much about this time, which ſhewed the ſentiments the enemies of England had of the earl, and ought therefore to have endeared him to ſuch as had a real affection for their country: one Edward Squire was ſeized and impriſoned for treaſon, and his caſe came out to be this; he had been a groom in the queen's ſtables, went afterwards to ſea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken priſoner and carried to Spain, where he was perſuaded by a jeſuit to undertake poiſoning the earl of Eſſex, and afterwards queen Elizabeth: for performing which, he had poiſon given him in a bladder. He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pommel of the queen's ſaddle; got himſelf afterwards recommended to ſerve on board the earl's ſhip in the iſland voyage, where, in like manner, he poiſoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either caſe. Upon this, the Spaniſh jeſuit, ſuſpecting the man and not his drug, cauſed information to be given in England againſt Squire, who, finding himſelf betrayed by his confeſſor, opened the whole ſcene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to diſ-

patch both the queen and the earl; for which he was deſervedly executed.

The miſeries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increaſed; and, when propoſals were made, in the queen's council, for ſending over a new governor, with certain reſtrictions, Eſſex took occaſion of ſhewing, that nothing had been hitherto ſo expenſive as an ill-timed frugality; and, that the Iriſh rebels had been the only gainers by the reſtraint put upon the Engliſh deputies. Thoſe who hated the earl, were not diſpleaſed when they found him in this diſpoſition, and, at length, in their turn, took occaſion from his objections, to ſuggeſt, that the total reduction of that iſland was to be expected from none but himſelf; which, at firſt, he declined: but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home; that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit; and that, by diſappointing the expectations of his friends, he ſhould gradually loſe them, he conſented to accept the fatal poſt of lord lieutenant of Ireland, and agreed to go over to that kingdom, which had been the grave of his father's fortunes, and, which his beſt friends foreſaw, would prove the gulph of his own. It is true indeed that he had a great army granted him, that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were very ample, and his appointments very great; but theſe were obtained with many ſtruggles, and notice was taken of every thing he promiſed, or ſeemed to promiſe, in order to obtain them; and, when all things were regulated, he was ſo far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had ſought, and to a command which he meditated for the ſake of greater things, that he ſeemed rather to look upon it as a baniſhment, and as a place aſſigned him to retreat from his ſovereign's preſent diſpleaſure, rather than a potent government beſtowed upon him by her favour.

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The truth of this is apparent, from an epiſtle of his to the queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his embarkation for that kingdom. It is preſerved in the Harleian MSS. at the Muſeum, from which, the following copy was taken:

"To the Queen.

"From a mind delighting in ſorrow; from ſpirits waſted with paſſion; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travail, from a man that hateth himſelf, and all things elſe that keep him alive; what ſervice can your Majeſty expect, ſince any ſervice paſt, deſerves no more than baniſhment and proſcription to the curſedeſt of all iſlands? It is your rebels pride and ſucceſſion muſt give me leave to ranſom myſelf out of this hateful priſon, out of my loathed body; which, if it happen ſo, your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to miſlike the faſhion of my death, ſince the courſe of my life could never pleaſe you.

"Happy he could finiſh forth his fate
"In ſome unhaunted deſert, moſt obſcure
"From all ſociety, from love and hate
"Of worldly folk; then ſhould he ſleep ſecure;
"Then wake again, and yield God ever praiſe;
"Content with hips, and haws, and bramble-berry;
"In contemplation paſſing out his days,
"And change of holy thoughts to make him merry:
"Who, when he dies, his tomb may be a buſh,
"Where harmleſs Robin dwells, with gentle Thruſh.

Your Majeſty's exiled ſervant,

ROBERT ESSEX."

On the 12th of March, 1599, his commiſſion for lord lieutenant paſſed the great-ſeal; and, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, about two in the afternoon, he ſet out from Seething-lane, and paſſing through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the nobility, he was attended by vaſt crowds of people out of town; and it was obſerved, with a view, perhaps, to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceeding fair when he took horſe, but, by that time he came to Iſlington, there was a heavy ſtorm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning. The like bad weather he met with at ſea, ſo that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before the fifteenth of April, 1599.

He found things in that country in a ſtate very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at leaſt to any purpoſe, till he was well acquainted with the country in which he was to act. He found, likewiſe, that the new-raiſed men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were ſeaſoned to the country, and well acquainted with diſcipline. Theſe conſiderations hindered him from marching directly to Ulſter, leſt the earl of Tyrone ſhould take any advantage of his weakneſs; and the council deſiring that he would ſuppreſs ſome diſorders in Munſter, he thought that a fair occaſion of exerciſing his new troops, and did it effectually.

On his return to Dublin, he wrote a letter to the queen, containing a free and full repreſentation of the ſtate of things in that country; which moſt admirable performance, pointing out all the ſteps that were afterwards taken, and by which his ſucceſſor made an end of the war, remains upon record in Ireland. This letter he ſent over to the queen by his ſecretary, in hopes, that from thence, ſhe

might

might have derived a juſt notion of the ſtate of things in that iſland; but it produced no ſuch effect: on the contrary, the queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulſter, in order to attack Tyrone, and repeated her orders upon that head in very ſtrong terms. Before theſe arrived, however, Sir Henry Harrington, with ſome of the freſh troops, had been worſted by an inferior number of the O'Brians; which ſo provoked Eſſex, that he caſhiered all the officers, and decimated the private men.

When he received the queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulſter, he was prevailed upon to enter the county of Ophelie, to reduce the O'Connors and the O'Moores; which he performed; but his troops were ſo harraſſed and diminiſhed thereby, that, with the advice and conſent of the council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thouſand men. In the midſt of theſe croſſes in Ireland, an army was ſuddenly raiſed in England, under the command of the earl of Nottingham; no-body well knowing why: but, in reality, from the ſuggeſtions of the earl's enemies to the queen, that he rather meditated an invaſion on his native country, than the reduction of the Iriſh rebels.

At length, Eſſex, intending to proceed directly to Ulſter, ſent orders to Sir Conyers Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that ſide, that Tyrone might be obliged to divide his forces; which was executed, but with ſuch ill fortune, that the Engliſh, being ſurpriſed, were defeated, with the loſs of their commander in chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men.

But this freſh diſappointment, did not prevent his march againſt Tyrone, as ſoon as the reinforcement from England arrived. His army, even

with this augmentation, was conſiderably inferior to that of Tyrone; and, to add to his diſtreſs, a general diſlike to the ſervice prevailed among his troops, ſo that many deſerted, and others counterfeited ſickneſs; the ſeaſon alſo was too far advanced for him to be able to bring on a deciſive action with the enemy, who, poſſeſſed of all the ſtrong holds, and advantageous ſituations for encampment, ſeemed reſolved to harraſs the Engliſh troops, by fatiguing marches and countermarches, and to avoid a battle by every ſtratagem of war.

Thus circumſtanced, he accepted the propoſal of a conference with Tyrone, who ſent an expreſs to him for that purpoſe by a ſpecial meſſenger. The generals, according to the agreement, met alone, at ſome diſtance from their camps, which were formed on the oppoſite banks of a river.

The earl of Tyrone, as a mark of reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the lord-lieutenant, advanced from his ſide of the ford of Ballyclynch into the river, ſaddle deep; and being then within hearing, he conferred with Eſſex, who remained on the oppoſite bank. This interview happened on the 8th of September, and a truce was concluded to the firſt of May, to be ratified however afreſh every ſix weeks, and to be broke off by either party, on giving fourteen days notice from the expiration of any of the intermediate periods: the policy of Eſſex, in this reſerved condition, is evident; for all he wanted, was to gain time to repair to England, to counter-act the deſigns of his enemies; and in caſe the queen ſhould blame him for treating with Tyrone, he had it in his power to declare, that he could renew the war, if her Majeſty thought proper, in a few days.

However, his artifice not only failed of its effect, but appeared to the queen to be ſuch an unwarrantable

able ſtretcth of power in a ſubject, that ſhe readily liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who all perſuaded her, that this treaty concealed a treaſonable deſign to invade England with the aſſiſtance of Tyrone's army, joined to his own forces; and as theſe miniſters had the chief adminiſtration of public affairs, and had conſtantly oppoſed Eſſex, it is not at all ſurpriſing that their perſonal fears ſhould have made them ſuſpect too much, eſpecially as Eſſex had openly declared he would uſe every means in his power to remove them from the queen's perſon and councils for ever. Yet ſome of our moſt reſpectable hiſtorians, ſeem to think, that unlawful connections took place between Tyrone and Eſſex at their private meeting; and from not permitting any of their attendants to be preſent, a preſumptive proof of treaſon is adduced. Be this as it may, it is certain, that he took a ſtep immediately after the treaty with Tyrone, which merited ſevere chaſtiſement from his ſovereign, for he quitted the ſupreme command with which ſhe had inveſted him, and leaving the affairs of Ireland in an unſettled deſperate ſtate, repaired privately to England againſt the conſent of his privy council there, and at the very inſtant he had received inſtructions from the privy council at home, to act with more vigour againſt the rebels in that kingdom.

He arrived in England, before the miniſtry or the queen had the ſlighteſt notice, or even any ſuſpicion of his raſh deſign; and by riding night and day, he reached the court before any intelligence could be conveyed to his enemies. His eagerneſs to ſee the queen before ſhe could conſult her miniſters upon his return, was ſo great, that without ſtaying to change his dreſs, in the dirty condition

he was in, he entered the queen's bed-chamber, who was but juſt riſen, and was ſitting with her hair about her face: the earl inſtantly fell on his knees at her feet, kiſſed her hand, and intreated a private conference, which we may preſume turned upon the neceſſity of his preſence, to wipe off the aſperſions caſt on him by his enemies, and it is certain he ſo far prevailed, before the queen had time to reflect on his unprecedented conduct, that he withdrew with viſible marks of ſatisfaction, and was heard to ſay, though he had met with ſtorms abroad, he had found a ſweet calm at home.

But as ſoon as the news of his reception at court reached the ears of the lord high admiral, and Sir Robert Cecil, now lord treaſurer, they repaired to court, and moſt probably aſcribed the earl's ſecret journey to England, to diſloyal and factious motives, for when Eſſex returned to her majeſty in the afternoon, he found the ſtorm gathering againſt him, for ſhe not only received him with great coolneſs, but ordered him to be confined to his houſe, and to ſubmit his conduct in Ireland, as well as his deſertion of his high ſtation, to the examination of the privy council; the reſult of which was, his commitment to the cuſtody of the lord keeper Egerton, and all intercourſe was cut off between him and his friends, even by letters, nor was the counteſs of Eſſex permitted to ſee him.

At this time, it is probable, the queen would have been appeaſed, if he had aſked pardon and returned to Ireland; nor is it ſuſpected, that his enemies had any worſe deſign againſt him, than that of keeping him at a diſtance from court. But his pride was too deeply wounded; and though he behaved with great humility to appearance; yet he

He was so struck with the queen's change of behaviour, and the manifest advantage his enemies had gained over him, by his own rashness, that it threw him into a dangerous illness; upon which the queen relented; she even went so far, as to send messages to him, and assured him, if it could have been done, consistent with her honour, she would have visited him; and his disorder proceeding from grief and vexation, her majesty's kindness restored him to health, after he had been in a weak and languishing condition near three months.

But a new and most singular incident, brought upon him a return of the queen's indignation, soon after his recovery. An history of the first part of the reign of Henry IV. containing the deposition of Richard II. was published by Dr. Hayward, an author of repute, dedicated to the earl of Essex, and a remarkable expression in the dedication served to alarm the natural jealousy of Elizabeth, and to confirm the reports she had heard of his treasonable intentions. "He is styled the present "judge, and future hope of the English nation." For which the author was fined and imprisoned.

But in the summer of the year 1600, Essex recovered his liberty; and, in the autumn following, he made Mr. Cuffe, who had been his secretary in Ireland, his chief confident, who laboured to persuade him, that submission would never do him any good; that the queen was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and, that the only way to restore his fortune, was to find the means, at any rate, to obtain an audience, in which he might be able to represent his own case. The earl heard this dangerous advice without consenting to it, till he found there was no hopes of getting his farm of the sweet wines renewed; then, it is said, that, giving loose

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to his paſſion, he let fall many vehement expreſſions; and, amongſt the reſt, this fatal reflection, "that the queen grew old and cankered, and "that her mind was as crooked as her carcaſe." Camden ſays, that this was aggravated by ſome of the court ladies, whom he had diſappointed in their intrigues. His enemies, who had exact intelligence of all he propoſed, having provided effectually againſt the execution of his deſigns, hurried him upon his fate, by a meſſage ſent on the evening of the ſeventh of February, 1601, requiring him to attend the council, which he declined. He then gave out that they ſought his life, kept a watch in Eſſex houſe all night, and ſummoned his friends, for his defence, the next morning.

The queen being informed of the great reſort of people of all ranks to the earl, ſent the lord-keeper Egerton, the earl of Worceſter, Sir Francis Knollys and the lord-chief-juſtice Popham, to know his grievances; whom, after a ſhort and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lord Sands, the lord Monteagle, and about two hundred gentlemen, he went into the city, where the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and ſome other gentlemen, joined him; but his dependance on the populace failed him; and Sir Robert Cecil prevailing upon his brother, the lord Burleigh, to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick, then king at arms, and proclaim Eſſex and his adherents traitors, in the principal ſtreets, the earl found it impoſſible to return to his houſe by land; and, therefore, he ſent Sir Ferdinando Gorges before, to releaſe the chief juſtice, who, for his own ſake, thought fit to extend that order to the reſt of the privy-counſellers; and then with his principal at-

attendants, he returned in boats to Eſſex-houſe; which was quickly inveſted by the earl of Nottingham, lord-admiral, with a great force; to whom, after many diſputes, and ſome blood ſpilt, he and his aſſociates at laſt ſurrendered.

Eſſex was carried that night to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, with the earl of Southampton, and the next day they were ſent to the Tower.

Great pains were now taken to draw from him very large and full confeſſions; which was the more eaſy, as he was truly and ſincerely pious; and, after he was once perſuaded, that his project was of a treaſonable nature, he made a point of conſcience to diſcloſe all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends, and could do no good to himſelf; and, indeed, he did not appear either to deſign or deſire it.

On the 19th of February, the earl of Eſſex, and his friend the earl of Southampton were brought to their trial before twenty-five peers, who unanimouſly found them guilty of high treaſon; and indeed the overt-acts were ſo manifeſt, that the warmeſt friends of the unhappy Eſſex were aſtoniſhed at his perſiſting in his innocence, inſtead of throwing himſelf on the mercy of the queen, and ſoliciting the recommendation of his judges. When ſentence was pronounced by lord Buckhurſt, appointed lord high ſteward for this occaſion, the earl of Southampton, received it as a man ſenſible of the heinous crime of which he had been guilty; his behaviour was ſerene and ſubmiſſive; he intreated the good offices of his brother peers, in ſuch pathetic terms, that he excited the compaſſion of all the ſpectators; and it is highly probable he owed his pardon to their lordſhips, for he had laboured under the queen's

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displeasure, before this last offence, on account of his marrying without her majesty's consent.

The earl of Essex acted a very different part, he said in a haughty strain, that he was prepared to die, and though he would not wish to have it represented to the queen that he despised her clemency, yet he desired it might be understood, that he should not solicit it by any mean submissions.

However, it is certain, that he relaxed, as to his obstinate denial of his guilt, shortly after his condemnation, and made an ample confession in the Tower of the conspiracy, to Ashton his chaplain, and was reconciled to Sir Robert Cecil, whom he had justly considered as his greatest enemy. Sir Robert possessed the political talents of his father, but not his integrity, so that his talents were sometimes abused, and particularly in the case of the earl of Essex, whose ruin he occasioned, by artful tricks of state; such as procuring him to be appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and then sending him instructions which he knew he could not follow, for want of a sufficient force; at the same time, availing himself of his absence, he misrepresented all his actions to the queen; and by these means hurried him into those criminal excesses, which proved fatal to him. Cecil is even accused of having taken a base unwarrantable step to determine Essex to quit Ireland precipitately, which was the foundation of his disgrace, by stopping all the ships bound from England for Ireland, except one, which sailed direct for Dublin, and by his orders carried over and spread a false report of the queen's death: an event which he knew would make Essex desert his station.

The earl now cast a blemish on his character, independant of his public conduct, which turned the tide of his popularity, and made his death much less

leſs lamented than might have been expected, as he had been ſuch a favourite with all orders of men. He unneceſſarily gave up his friends, delivering in his own hand-writing a detail of his connections, which proved fatal to ſeveral who had not the leaſt apprehenſion of being thus betrayed by the very man, who had ſeduced them into a treaſonable correſpondence with him. Amongſt others, the lord Montjoy, reſident in France, was recalled and committed to the Tower; nor is it at all improbable that the high ſpirit of Eſſex, ſuggeſted to him, after he was ſenſible of his guilt, this method of ſaving his own life, as leſs degrading than that of ſoliciting for mercy: the diſcovery of the whole plot, he might conſider as a ſervice, which intitled him to a pardon as a matter of right, not of conceſſion.

However this be, it was natural for Elizabeth to feel ſome reluctance to ſign the warrant for taking off the head of a nobleman, who had been her profeſſed favourite, who notwithſtanding all his vices, had done the nation ſignal ſervice upon various occaſions, and had ſo lately been the ornament of her court; in which he was reſpected for every amiable accompliſhment; ſhe accordingly appeared irreſolute, but after waiting a few days, in expectation he would ſue for a pardon, ſhe was exaſperated at his pride, and her own getting the better of any remaining affection for him, ſhe ſigned the warrant, and ordered his execution, complying only with his wiſh, in permitting it to be as private as poſſible. A ſcaffold was therefore prepared in the inner court of the Tower, and he was beheaded on the 25th of February 1601, only a few of the aldermen, and ſome noblemen of the court, being preſent, by the expreſs command of the queen; it was thought however, extremely indecent,

ndecent, that Sir Walter Raleigh, his avowed nemy, was of the number, and it created such a murmur, that he was obliged to withdraw.

The behaviour of Essex in his last moments was truly penitent and devout, and though at the point of being cut off in the flower of his age, he did not express any solicitude for life, or fear of death; but unfortunately, he must have suffered great mortal pain, for the executioner gave him three blows of the axe, before he severed the head from the body.

Thus fell the gallant Earl of Essex, whose military glory, loyalty to his sovereign, (the treason for which he suffered excepted) zeal for the true interest and prosperity of his country, and many eminent virtues, would have rendered him one of the brightest characters in the records of fame; if ambition, self-conceit, and impetuosity of temper, which are but too frequently the companions of rapid prosperity in the early stages of life, had not triumphed over fortitude, reason and integrity.

His royal mistress did not long survive this domestic calamity, and the ill state of health which came upon her after the death of the countess of Nottingham, has by most historians been attributed to a confession made by the countess on her death-bed to the queen concerning Essex; the particulars of this interview and secret, will be found in the succeeding life of the earl of Nottingham, which follows next in order, as his lordship, after the fall of Essex, was the queen's principal confident, and in fact, her first minister of state.

The earl of Essex was a liberal patron of learned men, and several small tracts written by him, have likewise obtained him a place, in the ingenious

ingenious Mr. Walpole's catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, who beſtows very great encomiums on a ſtate of Ireland, drawn up by the earl and tranſmitted to the queen; ſtyling it a maſterly compoſition, in which the abilities of a great general and ſtateſman are conſpicuous, as well as the talents of a fine writer.

*** *Authorities.* Camden's Annals. Baker's Chronicle. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies. Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Hume's Hiſtory of England.

The

The LIFE of

CHARLES HOWARD,

EARL of NOTTINGHAM,

AND

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL of ENGLAND.

Including an ACCOUNT of the laſt Illneſs and Death of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[A. D. 1536, to 1603.]

THE glorious catalogue of immortal patriots, whoſe valour, wiſdom and integrity ſupported the dignity, and preſerved the independency of the realm of England, at a criſis, when the moſt formidable power of Europe, aided by the Roman pontiffs, and the ſecret enemies of our happy conſtitution meditated her ruin; is now to be cloſed with conciſe memoirs of the illuſtrious admiral, who had the command of the Engliſh fleet in that great and victorious engagement, which happily decided the fate of this country, and fixed the ſtandard of religious and civil liberty, on a ſure and permanent baſis.

Charles Howard was the ſon of Thomas Howard, created baron of Effingham in Surry, by queen Mary in 1554, and raiſed to the dignity of lord high admiral, in which office he was continued by queen

queen Elizabeth, till age and infirmities rendered him unfit for that active department, and then he was made lord-privy-seal, in which station he died in 1572. This, his only son was born in 1536, and in his early youth, having discovered an inclination for the sea service, his father bred him up under him, and took him out with him upon some cruising voyages, in the reign of Mary. In the second year of Elizabeth, by his father's interest with the queen, he was appointed ambassador extraordinary, to compliment Charles IX. of France on his accession to the throne of that kingdom; and this his first promotion was considered as a signal instance of the queen's favour, as he was then not quite twenty-three years of age. The next account we have of him is in the year 1569, he was made general of the horse, under the earl of Sussex, warden of the northern marches, on occasion of the insurrection, headed by the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, in favour of Mary queen of the Scots; in this service he greatly signalized himself, and greatly contributed to the suppression of the rebellion, having obliged the earl of Westmoreland to fly, and take refuge in Scotland, before the arrival of the earl of Warwick, who bringing a considerable reinforcement from the midland counties, to the assistance of the earl of Sussex, lord Charles Howard, and Sir George Bowes, completed the victory over the rebels, which they had partly accomplished.

In 1570, the command of a fleet of ten ships of the line was given to lord Charles Howard, with instructions to receive the Imperial and Spanish fleets, which were to convoy the emperor's sister, Anne of Austria to the coast of Spain, at their entrance into, and to escort them through the British channel. Upon this occasion, our gallant commander bravely maintained the privileges of

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the Britiſh flag, by obliging the fleets, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty ſail, to pay him the compliment of ſtriking their colours in the Engliſh ſeas, after which he obeyed his inſtructions, and ſhewed every mark of honour and curteſy to the princeſs and her attendants. The following year, he was choſen knight of the ſhire for the county of Surry, but he did not ſit long in the houſe of commons, for in 1572, his father dying, he ſucceeded to his title, and took his ſeat in the houſe of peers; and from this time, the queen conſtantly honoured him with her royal favour, and by degrees raiſed him to the higheſt and moſt honourable employments in the government. Soon after his father's death her majeſty made him lord chamberlain of the houſhold, and in 1573, he was inſtalled a knight of the moſt noble order of the garter. From this period to the year 1585, lord Effingham led the life of a courtier, and enjoyed not only the ſmiles of his royal miſtreſs, but the affections of the people, by whom he was greatly eſteemed for his affability, hoſpitality and other ſocial virtues; it therefore gave the nation entire ſatisfaction, and more eſpecially the ſeamen, when upon the death of the earl of Lincoln, in the courſe of that year, lord Effingham was conſtituted lord high admiral of England.

This very extenſive department required a man of great abilities and cool judgment, nor could he have ſucceeded to it at a time when the exertion of ſuch talents was more wanted; for Philip II. of Spain was now meditating his grand deſign of ſubverting the proteſtant religion in Europe, as the firſt ſtep to which, England was to be invaded and conquered, in reſentment for the aſſiſtance queen Elizabeth had given to the United Provinces, after their revolt from the Spaniſh government. The immenſe preparations for this important

tant enterprise, had been carried on with the utmost precaution and secrecy, but they could not escape the notice of the vigilant Walsingham, who as early as the year 1584, had discovered the base plots of the king of Spain and the duke of Guise, against the person of the queen, which were to facilitate the conquest of the kingdom. But soon after she had appointed lord Effingham to be lord high admiral, the designs of the Spanish court were openly avowed; and the election of a protestant princess to fill the throne of England, being deemed in the popish countries null and void; the jesuits encouraged Philip II. boldly to assert a claim to the imperial crown of England, derived by genealogical descent from John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. No bar to his title remained in the popish account, Elizabeth having been deposed by the bulls of pope Pius V. and Gregory XIII. except the nearer affinity to the royal blood, of Mary queen of the Scots, who was easily persuaded formally to assign over her right to the crown of England in favour of the king of Spain, as the only means of restoring popery in this nation. The whole project being brought to light, by means of a letter from the king of Spain to pope Gregory XIII. a copy of which was obtained by a Venetian priest, who transmitted it to Walsingham, the lord high admiral sent Sir Francis Drake to Cadiz, to interrupt and retard the preparations, which service he performed in the manner mentioned in his life. In the mean time, the lord high admiral was assiduous in augmenting the royal navy, which only ten years before this æra, was in so low a state, that it consisted of no more than 24 ships, the largest of which was of the burthen of 100 tons, and the smallest under 60. In 1585, it had only received the addition of three ships, and the total number

number of seamen fit to be employed in the service of the crown, amounted to no more than 14,295 effective men. On this emergency therefore, it was necessary to adopt the most vigorous measures, and, owing to the wise regulations of the lord admiral, whose popularity daily increased, the queen soon saw herself in possession of a formidable naval armament. Every commercial town in England was required to furnish a certain number of ships specified by the lord admiral, and proportioned to their abilities; but the zeal of the queen's subjects, in most parts, exceeded the stipulated demand; the city of London, in particular, fitting out double the number required as its quota. The principal nobility and gentry likewise formed associations in all parts of the kingdom, and produced forty-three ships completely armed, manned and victualled ready to put to sea.

In the lives of secretary Walsingham, and admiral Drake, we have amply related, by what means the king of Spain was disabled from carrying his grand design into execution, till the year 1588, though it had been in agitation upwards of three years. However all impediments being got over, the Spanish fleet, proudly called, The INVINCIBLE ARMADA, set sail from the port of Lisbon, on the third of June, 1588, but was forced back by a violent storm, and obliged to take shelter at the Groyne, which had been the station of general rendezvous for the different squadrons, as they were fitted out. The whole fleet consisted of 92 galleons, or large ships of the line; 4 galliasses; 30 frigates; 30 transports with cavalry, and 4 gallies.

The force on board consisted of 19290 regular troops, 8350 marines, and 2080 galley slaves, provided with 2630 pieces of ordnance. This formidable armament, which exceeded every thing

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that had been known in modern times, was under the command of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, admiral in chief; Don Juan Martinez de Ricaldo, a naval officer of great abilities, and experienced mariner, was vice admiral, and almoſt every noble family in Spain, had ſome relation embarked as a volunteer on this expedition. But ſtill further to inſure ſucceſs, Philip ordered the duke of Parma to provide tranſports to carry over an army of 25000 men from the Netherlands to England. The duke punctually obeyed theſe orders, and quartered his army in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk and Nieuport. Dunkirk has been from time immemorial, an aſylum for fugitives from England, who ſullied with crimes of various dyes are permitted to find ſecurity for their perſons, and to carry on a deſpicable kind of commerce for their ſupport in this den of thieves. Here the duke of Parma picked up 700 deſperadoes, chiefly Iriſh and Scotch papiſts, who enliſted under his banners, to conquer England.

To oppoſe this mighty armament, the lord high admiral of England ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt, where he was joined by the vice-admiral Sir Francis Drake; and lord Henry Seymour, ſecond ſon to the duke of Somerſet, with another ſquadron, cruiſed along the coaſts of Flanders, to prevent the embarkation of the troops under the duke of Parma. The preparations made by land have been mentioned in the life of the earl of Leiceſter. We ſhall therefore only give an account in this place of the operations of the fleets.

About the 12th of July, the Spaniſh Armada ſet ſail a ſecond time for England, and after a tempeſtuous paſſage, they appeared on the 19th off the weſtern ſhore; and ſpread a general alarm and conſternation all along the coaſts, which was greatly increaſed by obſerving, that moſt of the

Spaniſh

Spaniſh galleons were of ſuch an enormous ſize, that they ſeemed like floating caſtles in compariſon to the Engliſh, and their upper works were almoſt cannon proof, being three feet thick. The firſt deſign meditated by the Spaniſh admiral, was to attempt burning the Engliſh fleet in their harbours, for he had no idea, they would venture to put to ſea, to face his *Invincible Armada*; but being diſcovered off the Lizard, by one Fleming a Scotch pirate; this man, with great loyalty, crowded all the ſail of his light pinnace, and bore away for Plymouth, the ſtation of the Engliſh admiral, and the rendezvous of the different ſquadrons now out on cruizes to watch the motions of the Spaniards. Fleming arrived in time to enable the lord admiral to take what meaſures he thought proper, without being ſurprized by the enemy. Lord Effingham hereupon, reſolved to get the ſhips under his command out of the harbour without loſs of time, and to encourage the ſailors, he worked himſelf, and perſonally gave orders to the other officers, which ſo encouraged the men, that on the morning of the 20th of July, he got clear of the port, and deſcried the Spaniſh fleet, which muſt have made a moſt formidable appearance, and have appalled any other but his brave ſeamen; for he had but thirty ſail of the line with him. Our admiral ſuffered them to paſs without ſeeming to take any notice of them, that having the advantage of the wind, he might bear down upon their rear and attack them. They moved very ſlowly along, though with all their ſail out, being extremely heavy and unweildy, ſo that ſcarce one of them anſwered to the helm. A circumſtance greatly in favour of the Engliſh admiral, who with his light veſſels, if he had been worſted in his attempt upon the Spaniſh rear, could have retreated with eaſe, and it would have been impoſſible to have purſued

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him with these heavy ships. Lord Effingham however, took care to send a special messenger to the queen, to inform her Majesty of the arrival of the enemy, of the superiority of their fleet, and of his design, notwithstanding this disadvantage, to fall upon their rear; likewise to desire her to make the proper dispositions by land, in case the Spaniards should succeed so far as to set their troops on shore; and to give orders for all the other squadrons and ships in her Majesty's service, to join him with all possible expedition. Having taken these prudent precautions, the lord-admiral resolved to make a vigorous attack on the enemy, with a view of preparing them for a general engagement, and to take off the terror which the sight of the large Spanish galleons had impressed on the minds of the English seamen. He therefore gave chace to this formidable fleet, and soon fell in with the rear division, commanded by Don Ricaldo; a skirmish ensued, in which the English had the advantage; and it fully answered our admiral's purpose, who perceiving that the Spanish admiral in the center, and Don Alphonso de Levya commander of the van, were endeavouring to incircle his little fleet; he made a signal for a retreat, which was soon made in excellent order; and this trial convinced both his officers and his men, how easily they could manage their own ships, and either attack or retire from the heavy-floating castles of the enemy: but our historians and biographers, who assert that this was a general engagement, and mention Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher as parties concerned in it, are guilty of a capital error; for these latter commanders were at different stations when this first blow was struck, and they brought the lord-admiral the forty ships which formed their squadrons, only on the 22d, when his lordship was still continuing a kind of running fight with the Spa-

niards, firing at their large ships as opportunity served of sailing up to them, and then retreating with the same expedition.

The Spaniards, however, being greatly worsted in different attacks, and finding the English fleet more numerous and powerful, than it had been represented, on a sudden tacked about, and made for the coast of Calais. The lord-admiral then called a council of war, and after conferring the honour of knighthood on vice-admiral Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and three other principal officers, he proposed to pursue the Spanish fleet; and he was further induced to advise this measure, by the prospect of being joined by the squadrons under lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter, stationed off the Flemish coast. The council concurring in opinion with the lord-admiral, the English fleet gave chace to the Spaniards, and on the 27th, the other squadrons joined them, in the Streights of Calais; and then their whole force consisted of one hundred and forty sail. Yet still it was inferior to the Armada, which now lay at anchor off Calais, and disposed in such order, that lord Effingham saw there were no hopes of separating the fleet, and attacking different divisions as he had proposed; unless some stratagem could be devised to throw the whole fleet in disorder: his great capacity, however, supplied him with the happiest expedient for this purpose. He converted eight of his worst barks into fire-ships, and these, under the conduct of two experienced captains, were convoyed about midnight to the Spanish fleet, and being properly filled with combustibles, and their sails set, they were fired by the crews of the two ships that convoyed them, who then took to their boats; these barks went into the center of the Spanish fleet, and threw the whole into the utmost dismay and confusion. Some fell foul of each other, after

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cutting their cables, others got up their anchors, and put to ſea to avoid the flames, which had caught the rigging of ſeveral ſhips; and as ſoon as the dawn appeared, the Engliſh fell upon them in this diſperſed ſtate, and took or deſtroyed twelve of their largeſt ſhips. This was the firſt introduction of the uſe of fire-ſhips in the Engliſh navy. The Spaniards now laying aſide the thoughts of invaſion and conqueſt, endeavoured to make their eſcape through the Streights of Dover, but adverſe winds drove them on the coaſt of Zealand, where the Spaniſh admiral narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck. After this, a council of war was held, and it was determined to retreat entirely, by ſailing round the north-part of our iſland; but here, a ſecond ſtorm diſperſed them, and the admiral, with twenty-five ſail, ſteered his courſe for the Bay of Biſcay, leaving the reſt of his Invincible Armada to the violence of the tempeſt, and the mercy of the Engliſh. Upwards of thirty of their beſt ſhips periſhed on the Iriſh coaſt, others were driven on ſhore in the Orkney Iſlands, and ſeveral were taken by thoſe brave admirals Hawkins, Drake, and Frobiſher: in fine, out of the whole fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and thirty ſail, only fifty-four got ſafe to Spain, and thoſe in a ſhattered condition; it is likewiſe computed that they loſt 25000 men in this fatal expedition, among whom were ſo many volunteers of diſtinguiſhed rank, that moſt of the noble families in Spain went into mourning, after the return of the remains of the fleet. As for the Engliſh admiral, after he had cleared the channel of the Spaniards, he returned triumphant to the Downs; and then repairing to London, joined in the joyful acclamations and thankſgivings of the whole nation upon this great deliverance from impending deſtruction. The queen repaired publicly to the cathedral of St. Paul's, and there with great

ſolemnity and devotion expreſſed her gratitude to God, for his great mercy in reſcuing her from the manifold ſecret plots and open violence of her enemies. Soon after, ſhe ordered two medals to be ſtruck in commemoration of this ſignal victory; and as the inventive genius, cool judgment, and active valour of the lord high admiral, had greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the day, her Majeſty acknowledged his ſignal merit in the moſt honourable manner for him before the whole court, and rewarded him with a penſion for life: Fleming, the pirate, was pardoned at his interceſſion, and an annual gratification was allowed him for the intelligence he had given to the lord-admiral of the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet.

The next important ſervice performed by the lord-admiral was againſt Cadiz, which was taken by the Engliſh fleet and the land-forces under the earl of Eſſex in Auguſt 1596, to the incredible loſs of Spain; for beſides two rich galleons, thirteen men of war, and one hundred pieces of braſs cannon, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and the lord-admiral refuſed a ranſom of two millions of ducats for the merchant-ſhips in Port-Real, his inſtructions being to burn them, becauſe a ſecond invaſion of England had been meditated.

Upon lord Effingham's return, the queen, who had been generally partial to the earl of Eſſex, attributed the conqueſt of Cadiz chiefly to the admiral: in honour of the glorious expedition ſhe created him earl of Nottingham; and in the patent, the reaſon aſſigned for conferring this new dignity, was his ſignal ſervices in the taking of Cadiz: this gave birth to the quarrel between the admiral and Eſſex, which ended only with the death of the latter.

In 1599, the nation was alarmed with another projected invaſion from Spain; and Eſſex being in Ireland, the queen, to manifeſt her intire confidence

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in the earl of Nottingham, made him ſole commander of her fleets and armies, with the addition of a new title, that of lord lieutenant-general of all England; by which he was inveſted with more ample powers than had ever been granted to any ſubject: but this extraordinary commiſſion expired with the occaſion that gave birth to it. The dread of an invaſion ſubſiding in ſix weeks, the earl of Nottingham reſigned it into the queen's hands; however, he became her chief miniſter ſoon after, and by the death of the earl of Eſſex, ſole adminiſtrator of the government. But, in order to ſecure this high ſtation, it is ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the earl of Nottingham aggravated every act of raſhneſs committed by the earl of Eſſex, and fomented the quarrel between that unhappy nobleman and his royal miſtreſs, till by the unkindneſs of the one, the other was driven to deſperation and rebellion.

From the moment that Eſſex ſurrendered to the earl of Nottingham, the queen, who had been uncommonly terrified by ſo daring an inſurrection in the heart of the capital, was extravagant in her praiſes of the lord-admiral; ſhe ſaid publicly, that he was born to be the Saviour of his Country. Thus raiſed to the ſummit of a ſtateſman's ambition, we have but too much reaſon to believe, that fearing a relapſe on the part of the queen, in favour of his great rival, he intercepted the token ſent from the unfortunate Eſſex as the laſt application for mercy.

On theſe well-grounded ſuſpicions, the earl ſtands accuſed of an act of cruel policy, which throws a baleful ſhade over the bright character of this Saviour of his Country, and even leaves a ſtain upon his loyalty; for a man of his abilities could not but be aware of the fatal conſequences

to the queen, if ever this ſecret reached her royal ear.

For many years after the event, the following remarkable anecdote was diſcredited by our beſt hiſtorians; but later diſcoveries, which have thrown more light upon the court intrigues in the laſt years of the reign of Elizabeth, have left little room to doubt the truth of it, as it is here related.

The earl of Eſſex, ſoon after his return from the ſucceſsful expedition againſt Cadiz, grew extremely jealous of being ſupplanted in the royal favour; and being confirmed in his apprehenſions by the new peerage conferred on the lord-admiral, he reſolved to ſecure himſelf againſt any fatal reverſe of fortune, while the queen's attachment to him remained. In this diſpoſition, having obtained a private audience, he took occaſion to regret, that her Majeſty's ſervice ſhould ſo frequently oblige him to be abſent from her perſon; by which he was expoſed to all thoſe ill-offices, which his enemies, in the courſe of their conſtant attendance on her, had it in their power to do him, by miſrepreſentations of his conduct, and falſe accuſations, while he was at a remote diſtance from court; perhaps not even in the kingdom: her Majeſty, it is ſaid, being greatly moved at his pathetic remonſtrance, took a ring from her finger; deſired him to keep it as a pledge of her affection; and aſſured him, that whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him; or whatever diſgrace he might happen to fall into, if he ſent her that ring, ſhe ſhould inſtantly call to mind her former affection for him, and grant him his requeſt, whatever it might be. The reader will be pleaſed to recollect that Henry VIII. had acted in the very ſame manner in the caſe of archbiſhop Cranmer; and he will further obſerve, that in many inſtances, Elizabeth affected to imitate the manners of

of her father. This is a circumſtance which has eſcaped the notice of our hiſtorians, in their warm conteſts upon the credibility of this ſtory; but highly preſumptive in favour of its authenticity. After ſentence of death had been paſſed upon the unfortunate Eſſex, it is a well-known fact, that he requeſted the favour of a viſit from the counteſs of Nottingham, at that time principal lady of the bedchamber to the queen; to what purpoſe, but to give her this ring, and to charge her to deliver it to her Majeſty, and to enforce his prayer for pardon, by her interceſſion? The counteſs was prevailed upon by her huſband to keep the ring, and to ſtifle the commiſſion ſhe had undertaken; and the queen, who hourly expected this laſt appeal from her fallen favourite, found various excuſes to delay ſigning the warrant for his execution, till female reſentment at his ſuppoſed pride and obſtinacy, made her liſten to the political motives urged by Cecil, and ſhe conſented to his death.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1602, the counteſs of Nottingham was ſeized with her laſt illneſs, and finding her diſſolution faſt approaching, ſhe ſent a ſpecial meſſenger to intreat a private viſit from the queen, alledging that ſhe had ſomething of importance to impart to her Majeſty, which troubled her conſcience; the queen complying with her earneſt requeſt; as ſoon as the attendants withdrew, the counteſs revealed the fatal ſecret, and at the ſame time implored the queen's pardon; who, aſtoniſhed at the foul deed, burſt forth into a violent paſſion of rage, ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed, and exclaiming with great vehemence, "God "may forgive you, but I cannot;" ſhe broke from her, and the counteſs expired ſoon after.

As to the diſtracted queen, a deep melancholy and inceſſant grief ſucceeded to rage; and from this time her health viſibly declined: ſtill, however,

she affected to conceal it, and she caused her inauguration day, the 17th of November, to be observed with the usual magnificence and rejoicings. But the courtiers, according to custom, began already to pay their court to the rising Sun, the young king of Scotland, her presumptive her; this did not escape her notice, and she was heard to lament, in bitter terms, that she was neglected, betrayed, and deserted. And, when she found the very same ministers advising her to sign the pardon of the earl of Tyrone, who had urged her to put Essex to death, she could not forbear making a just comparison between the guilt of an arch-rebel, who had desolated great part of Ireland, and the single act of mad desperation committed by Essex, for which these statesmen had made her forget and cancel all his great services to her and his country. Her grief, upon this occasion, could not be concealed; and as if she had been determined not to out-live the disgrace of being duped by her servants, she now neglected the care of her health, removing from Westminster to her palace of Non-Such at Sheene, in very tempestuous weather, on the last day of January, 1603. Here she daily grew worse, and the privy-council sat in London, deliberating on the measures for securing the peaceable succession of James I. with this view, they thought it most adviseable, that the queen, in her life-time should absolutely nominate him to succeed her; and though the earl of Nottingham and Sir Robert Cecil knew how painful this task would be to her, and that in fact, it was by no means necessary, the whole council being of one mind; yet they, together with the lord-keeper Buckhurst, undertook the disagreeable office. The queen, before she left Westminster, had declared to the lord-admiral, now likewise earl-marshal of England, that the crown ought to go to her next heir. But

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the jealous Scots, and the Engliſh miniſters, who wiſhed to ſtand high in favour with James, did not think this declaration ſufficient. The three deputies from the council, found the queen almoſt ſpeechleſs; but ſhe had ſtrength enough to repeat the meaning of her former declaration to the lord-admiral. "I have filled," ſaid ſhe, "a royal throne, and I deſire to have a royal ſucceſſor." The Stuart party, not yet ſatisfied, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil to preſs the dying queen to be more explicit. Being therefore importuned again, on the ſame ſubject, ſhe ſeemed to reſent it; and with tokens of vexation, at their affected ignorance—ſhe uttered theſe her laſt words upon this ſubject: "I deſire that a king ſhould ſucceed me, and who ſhould that king be, but my neareſt kinſman, the king of Scotland?" Her Majeſty continued languiſhing, in a moſt deplorable condition, near two months, and for ten days together ſhe ſat up dreſſed, upon cuſhions and carpets, and would not be put to bed, till ſhe was compelled; and after this refreſhment ſhe ſeemed eaſier, but continued to lay on her ſide without ſpeaking or taking notice of any of her attendants. At times, ſhe would however join in prayers with Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was conſtantly in waiting. On the 23d of March ſhe was quite ſpeechleſs, but compoſed; and at night ſhe fell into a ſleep, which laſted five hours, when ſhe waked only to breathe her laſt, ſeemingly with little pain or ſenſibility. Thus, in the 70th year of her age, and the 45th of her glorious reign, at about two in the morning of the 24th of March, 1603, was England deprived of a ſovereign, who raiſed the ſplendor of the Britiſh throne, who laid the foundation of the extenſive commerce of England in after-ages, who by her magnanimity, penetration, and vigilance, preſerved England, Scotland, and Ireland from becoming

provinces to Spain, and againſt whom no accuſation can be brought to diminiſh a peerleſs character, but that ſhe ſuffered the royal prerogative to infringe on the rights of the people; yet, let it be remembered, that it was at ſuch critical junctures, as thoſe, when ancient Rome ſubmitted to the rigorous adminiſtration of dictators.

In a word, the beſt character that can be given of this great queen, will be found in the ſtory of her life, even as it is written by foreigners of acknowledged literary abilities, who have written her hiſtory under the diſadvantage of being Roman catholics, and the ſubjects of deſpotic princes. Such, among others, was the preſident de Thou, commonly called Thuanus, to whom the reader is referred.

The remaining memoirs of the earl of Nottingham, hardly merit our notice; it may therefore ſuffice to obſerve, that his zeal in the affair of the ſucceſſion, procured him the honour of officiating as high-ſteward at the coronation of James I. that he was ſent on a ſplendid embaſſy to Spain, to conclude a treaty of friendſhip with that crown, in which he had been very inſtrumental; that he reſigned his office of high-admiral for a penſion, to Villiers duke of Buckingham, and retired into the country, where he died in 1624.

*** *Authorities.* Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian. Hume's Hiſtory of England. Birch's Negociations and Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Thuanus's General Hiſtory from 1545 to 1607. Carte's edit.

SUPPLE-

SUPPLEMENT.

The lives of the moſt eminent perſons, who were diſtinguiſhed chiefly by their public characters and the high ſtations they held under queen Elizabeth, are contained in the preceding pages; it remains now, to trace the progreſs of the human underſtanding in Britain, during, and for about twenty years after, this glorious æra of our hiſtory; the age of Elizabeth having given birth to a few celebrated men of uncommon genius, whoſe memoirs could not be blended with the civil hiſtory of the times. Beſides, ſome of them, though they flouriſhed under Elizabeth, ſurvived her many years: on which account, we have aſſigned them a diſtinct department, as not belonging entirely to the annals of either Elizabeth or James I.

So great was the attention of the people to the revival and extenſion of commerce, to the encouragement of navigation, and to the fixing of manufactures in the kingdom, (brought from foreign countries) that the mechanical and uſeful arts, were greatly preferred to the polite and liberal, in the reign of Elizabeth: we have therefore only to mention, that painting ſtill continued to be of foreign growth, though England produced two perſons who are noticed as men of ſome eminence, Nicholas Hilliard, a limner, jeweller and goldſmith; whoſe natural inclination for painting, led him to copy after Holbein, while he was an apprentice as a jeweller and goldſmith: he confined himſelf chiefly to portraits, and was excellent in miniature: this artiſt was born in 1547, and died in St. Martin's in the Fields in 1619. Iſaac Olliver, another miniature painter, was his pupil, and the virtuoſi give his perform-

performances the preference; he died in Blackfriars two years before his maſter.

Engraving, as a branch of the mechanic arts, met with great encouragement in the reign of Elizabeth, and by the indefatigable induſtry of the celebrated *Vertue* in our times, ſome capital performances, and a liſt of the artiſts of repute in this branch, have been reſtored; an account of which, the reader will find at large in Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England, Vol. II.

Muſic was likewiſe at a low ebb, though Elizabeth endeavoured to revive a taſte both for vocal and inſtrumental, ſetting the example by her own performances; but hiſtory and poetry received conſiderable improvements from the immortal pens of Buchanan, Spenſer, Shakeſpeare, and Camden. Of whom, we ſhall give conciſe memoirs, in chronological order.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

[A. D. 1506, to 1582.]

THIS celebrated hiſtorian, and Latin poet, was a native of Scotland; of whoſe family we have little or no account, except that his grandfather was a perſon concerned in trade, by whoſe failure, his father and mother were reduced to diſtreſſed circumſtances. George Buchanan was born in the Shire of Lenox, in 1506; and his father dying while he was very young, the care of his education

education devolved on his mother, who was left almoſt unprovided for, with five ſons and three daughters; but by the kind aſſiſtance of her brother, Mr. James Herriot, ſhe was enabled to ſend George to ſchool, where his inclination for learning recommended him to the further patronage and diſtinguiſhed attention of his uncle, at whoſe expence he was ſent to Paris, the univerſity in that city, being then eſteemed the beſt in Europe. But the death of Mr. Herriot, after he had been two years at Paris, depriving him of the means of purſuing his ſtudies, he was obliged to return to Scotland: it is obſerved, however, that if this alteration had not happened, his bad ſtate of health alone, would have forced him to leave Paris.

About the year 1524, having a deſire to acquire ſome knowledge of military affairs, he made a campaign with the French auxiliaries, who came over to Scotland under the command of John duke of Albany, to aſſiſt in carrying on the war againſt England, the French and the Scots being in alliance againſt Henry VIII. but the fatigues he underwent were too much for his delicate conſtitution; and this martial experiment occaſioned him a ſevere fit of illneſs, which confined him to his bed during the enſuing winter.

In the ſpring however, he was ſo well recovered, that he went to the univerſity of St. Andrew's to learn logic, under the famous Mr. John Maïr, with whom he went a ſecond time to Paris; there he embraced the tenets of Luther, which began to prevail in France about this time. After ſtruggling for near two years, againſt the miſeries of indigent circumſtances, his great merit procured him admiſſion into the college of St. Barbe, where he became profeſſor of grammar, which he taught near three years, and acquired by it a decent ſubſiſtence. At length, one of his pupils, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſels,

Caſſels, a young Scotch nobleman, admiring the converſation, and eſteeming the literary abilities of his countryman, engaged him ſolely as his tutor and companion, and they remained five years in France, after which they returned together to Scotland. The death of the earl of Caſſels, in 1534, left Mr. Buchanan once more without a patron: thus circumſtanced, he was preparing to return to France, when James V. ſent for him, and made him preceptor to his natural ſon, James Stuart, afterwards the famous earl of Murray, choſen regent of Scotland, when queen Mary was depoſed. But his evil genius again interpoſed to thwart his fortune, for having written a ſatirical, but elegant Latin poem, intitled, *Somnium*, in which the ignorance and lazineſs of the Franciſcan friars was ſeverely laſhed; the pious fraternity were ſo highly exaſperated, that they accuſed him of atheiſm and hereſy. This proof of their malice anſwered no other purpoſe, but to animate our young poet to freſh exertions of his vein for ſatire; and the irregular lives of the friars having furniſhed ſufficient grounds, he was highly pleaſed to find in his royal patron, an encourager of his deſign. A conſpiracy againſt James V. was diſcovered at this time, and the Franciſcans were ſuſpected by the king to have been privy to it; upon which he commanded Buchanan to write a poem againſt them. It ſhould ſeem however, as if the poet was apprehenſive of the conſequences to himſelf, of carrying matters too far, for he wrote a ſketch of his poem, ſuſceptible of a double interpretation. But the king, being diſpleaſed at this evaſion of his orders, poſitively enjoined him to laſh their vices, without diſguiſe or reſerve, which gave occaſion to the celebrated Latin poem of our author, intitled, FRANCISCANUS. All the religious orders in Scotland now took the alarm, and vowed deſtruction to the man,

man, who had the insolence to expose them to the scorn and derision of the laity; and though the king was highly pleased with the performance, it is said, he had the baseness to consent to have him put to death, in consideration of a considerable sum of money raised by the ecclesiastics, and deposited in the hands of that persecuting bigot, Cardinal Beatoun, for this infamous purpose: Buchanan received private intelligence, that the Franciscans had a design upon his life, though of what nature his friends could not exactly inform him; but it soon appeared, that they intended to have him burnt as a heretic: for being accused of this capital crime, he was arrested and imprisoned in the beginning of the year 1539; fortunately, however, he watched his opportunity, and while his keepers were asleep, got out of his chamber-window, and made his escape to England undiscovered. There, finding that Henry VIII. had set on foot a bloody persecution against both papists and heretics, who did not conform to the six articles, he went to Paris, where he hoped to find an asylum from the vengeance of his enemies; but unfortunately cardinal Beatoun had been sent on an embassy from Scotland to the court of France, and was just arrived; Buchanan therefore thought it most adviseable to retire to Bourdeaux, having received an invitation from Andrew Govea (better known by his Latin name Andreas Govianus) a celebrated professor of the civil law, who had been invited from his native country Portugal, to preside at the head of a college newly founded in that city. Here Buchanan taught the classics, rhetoric, history, and poetry, in the public schools for his subsistence, near three years, and at his leisure hours he composed four tragedies, *Jeptha*, *Alceſtes*, *Baptiſta*, and a translation of the *Medea* of *Euripides*. He wrote them in compliance with the rules of the schools, a new fable being required from

from the profeſſors every year; and inſtead of the trifling allegories uſually furniſhed upon theſe occaſions in the French univerſities, by which the taſte of their youth for rational entertainment had been vitiated, he introduced regular dramatic pieces, founded on hiſtorical facts, and thus engaged the ſtudents to imitate the ancients. Such an improvement as this could not eſcape the notice of the moſt eminent men in France, who highly approved it, and Buchanan's reputation was circulated throughout the whole kingdom, to the no ſmall mortification of the haughty cardinal Beatoun, who wrote to the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, informing him, that Buchanan was a profeſſed heretic, and requeſting that he might be apprehended: but the cardinal's letters, falling into the hands of his friends, he was delivered from this ſnare; and his patron, Andreas Govianus, being ſoon after ordered home by the king of Portugal, and commanded to bring with him ſome learned men capable of teaching philoſophy and claſſical learning, in the univerſity he had juſt founded at Cambria, Buchanan embraced this opportunity of avoiding the meditated vengeance of Beatoun and his clergy. While Govianus lived, Buchanan and the other learned men, who had followed him to Portugal, met with all ſuitable encouragement; but after his death, the natural averſion of the Portugueſe to foreigners, overcame their deſire of improvement, and theſe profeſſors were extremely ill-uſed. Our author's poem againſt the Franciſcans, his eating meat in Lent, and his having advanced in private converſation with ſome Portugueſe youth, that he thought St. Auſtin's doctrines were more favourable to the reformed, than to the Romiſh religion, were made the grounds of an accuſation of hereſy; in conſequence of which, he was ſeized and thrown into the priſon of the inquiſition in the year 1549; but

but the hopes of converting a man of his great reputation in the learned world, procured him the indulgence of a removal to a monaſtery, to be inſtructed in the myſteries of the holy Roman Catholic faith by the Monks, who, by his own account, treated him with great civility. It was during this confinement that he tranſlated the Pſalms of David into elegant Latin verſe.

In 1551, by the intereſt of ſome of his pupils of diſtinction, the king ordered, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty; and to indemnify him for his impriſonment, he now ſupplied him liberally with money for his current expences, and promiſed him preferment. But Buchanan, having no opinion of Portugueſe faith, and having already experienced their treachery, obtained a paſſport to return to England, and embarked on board a ſhip then in the harbour of Liſbon, taking in a cargo for London. The confuſion that prevailed in the councils of Edward VI. during his minority, did not ſeem to promiſe any great encouragement to literature: Buchanan therefore returned again to France in 1552, as he had nothing to apprehend in that country, his old enemy cardinal Beatoun having been aſſaſſinated by the Leſlies in Scotland, in 1548. Our author was now famous all over Europe, for his great learning, but more particularly for the elegance and correctneſs of his Latin poetry, a ſpecimen of which he had preſented to the renowned Charles V. emperor of Germany, in a ſmall complimentary poem, while he reſided at Bourdeaux; and copies of it had been diſperſed in Spain and Germany by order of his Imperial Majeſty. The principal nobility of France, therefore, thought it an honour to protect and encourage him upon his return to Paris; and this gave him an opportunity of publiſhing his tragedy of Jephtha in the moſt advantageous manner; Charles de Coſſi, marſhal of France, permitting

ing him the honour to dedicate it to him: Buchanan, in return, made so just an eulogium on the character of that great man, that the marshal, highly pleased with this well-judged compliment, gave him an invitation to settle in Piedmont, with genteel appointments, in quality of preceptor to his son. Buchanan accepted the offer, and passed five years very agreeably with this youth, employing the hours of recess from his charge, in the study of the Scriptures and polemical authors, with a view of forming his own opinion, on the controversies which at this time involved all Europe in religious feuds.

In 1563, Buchanan returned to Scotland, and joined the reformed church of that kingdom. In the beginning of 1565, he made another excursion to France; but the following year, he was ordered home by Mary queen of the Scots, to be preceptor to her son, James VI. as soon as that prince should be of a proper age to be put under his care, and in the mean time, in order to fix him in his own country, she made him principal of St. Leonard's college in the university of St. Andrew, where he presided four years; and at his leisure hours, he collected together all his poems, except such as were in the hands of his friends, of which he had kept no copies. When the civil dissentions broke forth between queen Mary and her subjects, he joined the party in opposition to the queen, and became a favourite of the earl of Murray, chosen regent of Scotland, by whose order he wrote a piece, intitled, *The Detection*, containing very severe reflections on the character and conduct of Mary; for which his memory has been aspersed, as a writer, by all popish historians, and by those, who have undertaken the more than Herculean labour of endeavouring to exculpate that weak and vicious woman. The states of Scotland, however, approved of Mary's choice of Buchanan, to be preceptor to the young king,

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for they confirmed him in this office; and when it was remarked ſome years after, that he had made his Majeſty a pedant, Buchanan uſed to reply, "it "was the beſt he could make of him." When we review his character as the ſovereign of three kingdoms, we ſhall be enabled to form a judgment of his preceptor's ſarcaſm.

In 1568, Buchanan was choſen one of the commiſſioners, who were ſent to England to accuſe queen Mary of the heinous crime of being privy to the murder of her huſband lord Darnley; and upon his return, he had the revenues of the abbey of Croſs Raguel aſſigned to him for life, he was made moderator of the church of Scotland, though a layman; director of the chancery; one of the lords of the council; and finally, lord privy-ſeal. Beſides all theſe promotions and emoluments, it is ſaid, queen Elizabeth allowed him a penſion of one hundred pounds yearly.

Being now entirely at his eaſe, he employed the remaining thirteen years of his life chiefly in literary purſuits; and from the time he was firſt employed in the public ſervice of his country, he directed his ſtudies to thoſe important ſubjects, politics and hiſtory. His two laſt performances of this kind, were his celebrated tract, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; and his Hiſtory of Scotland; both of them by impartial judges are eſteemed as maſterly productions, but favouring too much the principles of democratic government, they could not be acceptable in a monarchy; accordingly, they were both condemned by the ſtates, and on the publication of the hiſtory, the author was cited to appear before the lords of the privy-council, to be reſponſible for ſome bold political truths, ſaid to be of a dangerous tendency; but he died before the day appointed for his appearance. The king was likewiſe highly incenſed at ſome paſſages, which ſtruck

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at the root of the royal prerogative; and this being told to Buchanan during his illneſs, he ſaid, with the cool indifference of a ſtoic philoſopher, "that "his Majeſty's anger gave him little or no con- "cern, as he was ſhortly going to a place where "there were few kings."

We are told likewiſe, that a ſhort time before he expired, he called for his ſervant, enquired how much money he had belonging to him; and finding it inſufficient for his burial, he ordered him to diſtribute it amongſt the poor. Upon which the ſervant deſired to know, who, in that caſe, would defray the expences of his funeral. To this Buchanan replied, "That he was very indifferent "about that; for if he was once dead, if they "would not bury him, they might let him lie "where he was, or throw his corpſe where they "pleaſed." And perſiſting in his reſolution, the magiſtracy of Edinburgh were obliged to bury him at the public expence.

Various characters have been given of this admired writer; and both his private life, and his public opinions, have been groſsly miſrepreſented by popiſh authors, inſomuch, that they have not ſcrupled publiſhing the moſt notorious falſhoods reſpecting both. Independent of theſe, he has been too laviſhly praiſed, and too rigidly cenſured by Britiſh writers of eminence, according to the influence of their own political tenets: but, upon the whole, we are enabled to collect from four very reſpectable authorities, one foreign, and the others his countrymen, that he was one of the brighteſt ornaments of the learned world in his day: as a Latin poet, none excelled him: as an hiſtorian, he united the force and brevity of Saluſt, with the elegance and perſpicuity of Livy: he may be reckoned, the greateſt and beſt of our modern authors: his hiſtory is written with ſuch beauty

of ſtyle, eaſineſs of expreſſion, and exactneſs in all parts, that no ſervice or honour like it, could have been done to the Scottiſh nation, had he ended ſo noble a work as he begun, and carried it on only to the death of James V. but being unhappily engaged in a faction, and reſentments working violently upon him, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo ſtrangely biaſſed, that in the relation he gives of many of the tranſactions of his own time, he may rather paſs for a ſatyriſt than an hiſtorian. Theſe are the ſentiments of Thuanus, Crawford, and Mackenzie. Guthrie's authority, in this caſe, is ſo little to be relied on, that his ſevere cenſures of our author do not merit any attention; but from the lateſt and moſt reſpectable of all his critics, Dr. Robertſon, we muſt quote a ſummary of his character, as a writer, drawn up with cool, deliberate reflection, and a ſpirit of candor, which marks the goodneſs of the writer's heart.

"The happy genius of Buchanan, equally formed to excel in proſe and in verſe, more various, more original, and more elegant, than that of almoſt any other modern, who has written in Latin, reflects, with regard to this particular, the greateſt luſtre on his country." With reſpect to his hiſtory, the doctor obſerves, "if his accuracy and impartiality had been, in any degree, equal to the elegance of his taſte, and to the purity and vigour of his ſtyle, his hiſtory might be placed on a level with the moſt admired compoſitions of the ancients. But, inſtead of rejecting the improbable tales of chronical writers, he was at the utmoſt pains to adorn them, and hath cloathed, with all the beauties and graces of fiction, thoſe legends which formerly had only its wildneſs and extravagance."

Buchanan died at Edinburgh, in February 1582, and the firſt complete edition of all his works, collected

collected together in two volumes, folio, was not published in that city till 1704. A second edition, which is the last, appeared in 1715.

*** *Authorities.* Buchanan, *in vita propria poëmatus prefixa.* Thuanus's General History. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, Lond. edit. 1752. Mackenzie's Lives and Characters of Scotch Writers. Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland.

The LIFE of

EDMUND SPENSER.

[A. D. 1572, to 1598.]

EDMUND SPENSER was born in London, and educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1572, and of master of arts in 1576. The accounts of the birth and family of this great man are but obscure and imperfect, and at his first setting out into life, his fortune and interest seem to have been very inconsiderable. After he had continued some time at college, and had laid that foundation of learning, which, joined to his natural genius, qualified him to rise to so great reputation as a poet, he stood for a fellowship, in competition with Mr. Andrews, a gentleman in holy orders, and afterwards lord bishop of Winchester, in which he was unsuccessful. This disappointment, joined with the narrowness of his circumstances, forced him to

quit the univerſity; and we find him next reſiding in the houſe of a friend in the north, where he fell in love with his Roſalind, whom he finely celebrates in his paſtoral poems, and of whoſe cruelty he hath written ſuch pathetic complaints. It is probable, that about this time, Spenſer's genius began firſt to diſtinguiſh itſelf; for, The Shepherd's Calendar, which is ſo full of his unproſperous paſſion for Roſalind, was amongſt the firſt of his works of note, and the ſuppoſition is ſtrengthened, by the conſideration of poetry's being frequently the offſpring of love and retirement. This work he addreſſed, by a ſhort dedication, to the Mæcenas of his age, the immortal Sir Philip Sidney; a gentleman then in the higheſt reputation, who for wit and gallantry, was the moſt popular of all the courtiers of his age; and, as he was himſelf a writer, excelling in the fabulous or inventive part of poetry; it is no wonder he was ſtruck with our author's genius, and became ſenſible of his merit. A ſtory is told of him by Mr. Hughes, which does great honour to the humanity and penetration of Sidney, and to the excellent genius of Spenſer. It is ſaid that our poet was a ſtranger to this gentleman, when he began to write his Fairy Queen, and that he took occaſion to go to Leiceſter-houſe, and introduce himſelf, by ſending in to him a copy of the ninth canto of the firſt book of that poem. Sidney was much ſurpriſed with the deſcription of deſpair in that canto, and is ſaid to have ſhewn an unuſual kind of tranſport on the diſcovery of ſo new and uncommon a genius. After he had read ſome ſtanzas, he turned to his ſteward, and bid him give the perſon who brought thoſe verſes fifty pounds; but upon reading the next ſtanza, he ordered the ſum to be doubled. The ſteward was no leſs ſurpriſed than his maſter, and thought it his

his duty to make ſome delay in executing ſo ſudden and laviſh a bounty; but upon reading one ſtanza more, Sidney raiſed the gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the ſteward to give it immediately, leſt as he read further he might be tempted to give away his whole eſtate. From this time he admitted the author to his acquaintance and converſation, and prepared the way for his being known and received at court. Though this ſeemed a promiſing omen, to be thus introduced to court, yet he did not inſtantly reap any advantage from it. He was indeed created poet laureat to queen Elizabeth, but he for ſome time wore a barren laurel, and poſſeſſed the place without the penſion. Lord-treaſurer Burleigh, who conſidered the mechanic and uſeful arts as more important in a riſing commercial ſtate, than the polite, is accuſed of intercepting the queen's favours to this unhappy, great genius. As misfortunes have the ſtrongeſt influence on elegant and poliſhed minds, ſo it was no wonder that Spenſer was much depreſſed by the cold reception he met with from the great.

Theſe diſcouragements greatly ſunk our author's ſpirits, and accordingly we find him pouring out his heart, in complaints of ſo injurious and undeſerved a treatment; which, probably, would have been leſs unfortunate to him, if his noble patron, Sir Philip Sidney, by his employments abroad, and the ſhare he had in the Low-Country wars, had not been obliged to be frequently, and for a long time together abſent from court. In a poem, called, The Ruins of Time, which was written ſome time after Sidney's death, the author ſeems to allude to the diſcouragements juſt mentioned, in the following ſtanza:

" O grief

" O grief of griefs, O gall of all good hearts!
" To ſee that virtue ſhould deſpiſed be,
" Of ſuch as firſt were rais'd for virtue's parts,
" And now broad-ſpreading, like an aged tree,
" Let none ſhoot up that nigh them planted be;
" O let not thoſe, of whom the muſe is ſcorned,
" Alive, or dead, be by the muſe adorned."

Theſe lines are certainly meant to reflect on Burleigh for neglecting him, and the lord-treaſurer afterwards conceived a hatred towards him for the ſatire he apprehended was levelled at him, in Mother Hubbard's Tale. In this poem, the author has, in the moſt lively manner, pointed out the misfortune of depending on court-favours: in the following beautiful lines.

" Full little knoweſt thou, that haſt not try'd,
" What hell it is in ſuing long to bide,
" To loſe good days, that might be better ſpent,
" To waſte long nights in penſive diſcontent;
" To ſpeed to day, to be put back to-morrow,
" To feed in hope, to pine with fear and ſorrow;
" To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers,
" To have thy aſking, yet wait many years.
" To fret thy ſoul with croſſes, and with care,
" To eat thy heart, through comfortleſs deſpair;
" To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
" To ſpend, to give, to want, to be undone."

As this was very much the author's caſe, it probably was this particular paſſage in that poem which gave offence; for as Hughes very elegantly obſerves, even the ſighs of a miſerable man, are ſometimes reſented as an affront, by him who is the occaſion of them. There is a ſtory, related by ſome as a matter of fact commonly reported at that time, which reflects upon the character of Burleigh; but

it is discredited by Dr. Birch, and other judicious historians and critics, because the same circumstances are recorded to have happened to a poet of inferior merit, and the poetical petition here given as Spenser's composition, is ascribed to the inferior bard.

It is said, that upon his presenting some poems to the queen, she ordered him a gratuity of one hundred pounds; but the lord-treasurer Burleigh objecting to it, said, with some scorn, of the poet, of whose merit he was totally ignorant, "What, all this for a song?" The queen replied, "Then give him what is reason." Spenser for some time waited, but had the mortification to find himself disappointed of her Majesty's bounty. Upon this he took an opportunity to present a paper to queen Elizabeth, in the manner of a petition, in which he reminded her of the order she had given, in the following lines:

"I was promis'd on a time
"To have reason for my rhyme,
"From that time, unto this season,
"I receiv'd nor rhyme, nor reason.

This paper produced the intended effect, and the queen, after sharply reproving the treasurer, immediately directed the payment of the hundred pounds she had first ordered. In the year 1579, he was sent abroad by the earl of Leicester, as appears by a copy of Latin verses, dated from Leicester-house, and addressed to his friend Mr. Hervey; but Mr. Hughes has not been able to determine in what service he was employed.

When the lord Grey of Wilton was chosen deputy of Ireland, Spenser was recommended to be his secretary. This drew him over to another kingdom, and settled him in a scene of life very different from what he had formerly known, but, that he under-

underſtood, and diſcharged his employment with ſkill and capacity, appears ſufficiently by his diſcourſe on the ſtate of Ireland, in which there are many ſolid and judicious remarks, that ſhew him no leſs qualified for the buſineſs of the ſtate, than for the entertainment of the muſes. His life was now freed from the difficulties under which it had hitherto ſtruggled: but the lord Grey being recalled in 1582, Spenſer returned with him to England, where he ſeems to have continued till the untimely death of his gallant patron Sir Philip Sidney, in 1586; with which cataſtrophe he was deeply affected. His ſervices to the crown, in his ſtation of ſecretary to the lord-deputy, were recompenſed by a grant from queen Elizabeth of three thouſand acres of land in the county of Cork. This induced him to reſide in Ireland. His houſe was at Kilcolman, and the river Mulla, which he has, more than once, ſo finely introduced in his poems, ran through his grounds. Much about this time he contracted an intimate friendſhip with the great and learned Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then a captain under the lord Grey. His elegant poem, called, Colin Clout's come home again, in which Sir Walter Raleigh is deſcribed under the name of the Shepherd of the Ocean, is a beautiful memorial of this friendſhip, which took its riſe from a ſimilarity of taſte in the polite arts, and which he agreeably deſcribes, with a ſoftneſs and delicacy peculiar to him. Sir Walter afterwards fixed him in the eſteem of queen Elizabeth, through whoſe recommendations her Majeſty read his writings.

He now fell in love a ſecond time, with a merchant's daughter, in which, ſays Mr. Cooper, author of The Muſe's Library, he was more ſucceſsful than in his firſt amour. He wrote upon this occaſion a beautiful epithalamium, which he preſented to the lady on the bridal-day, and it has

conſigned that day and her, to immortality. In this pleaſant, eaſy ſituation, our excellent poet finiſhed the celebrated poem of The Fairy Queen, which was begun and continued at different intervals of time, and of which he at firſt publiſhed only the three firſt books; to theſe were added three more, in a following edition, but the ſix laſt books (excepting the two cantos on mutability) were unfortunately loſt by his ſervant, whom he had in haſte ſent before him to England; for though he paſſed his life for ſome time very ſerenely here, yet a train of misfortunes ſtill purſued him, and in the rebellion of the earl of Deſmond he was plundered and deprived of his eſtate. This diſtreſs forced him to return to England, where, for want of ſuch a noble patron as Sir Philip Sidney, he was plunged into new calamities. It is ſaid by Mr. Hughes, that Spenſer ſurvived his patron about twelve years, and died the ſame year with his powerful enemy the lord Burleigh, 1598. He was buried, ſays he, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, near the famous Geoffery Chaucer, as he had deſired; his obſequies were attended by the poets of that time, and others, who paid the laſt honours to his memory. Several copies of verſes were thrown into his grave, with the pens that wrote them, and his monument was erected at the charge of Robert Devereux, the unfortunate earl of Eſſex.

This is the account given by the editor of his works, of the death of Spenſer, but there is ſome reaſon to believe that he ſpoke only upon imagination, as he has produced no authority to ſupport his opinion, and in a work of great reputation, we find a different relation delivered upon probable grounds. The ingenious Mr. Drummond of Hawthronden, a noble wit of Scotland, had an intimate correſpondence with all the literati of his time who reſided at London, particularly the famous

mous Ben Jonſon, who had ſo high an opinion of Mr. Drummond's abilities, that he took a journey into Scotland in order to converſe with him, and ſtayed ſome time at his houſe at Hawthronden. After Ben Jonſon departed, Mr. Drummond, careful to retain what paſſed between them, wrote down the heads of their converſation; which he publiſhed amongſt his poems and Hiſtory of the Five James's, kings of Scotland. Amongſt other particulars there is this: "Ben Jonſon told me that Spenſer's goods were robbed by the Iriſh in Deſmond's rebellion, his houſe and a little child of his burnt, and he and his wife nearly eſcaped; that he afterwards died in King-ſtreet, Dublin, by abſolute want of bread; and, that he refuſed twenty pieces ſent him by the earl of Eſſex, and gave this anſwer to the perſon who brought them, "That he was ſure he had no time to ſpend them." In the inſcription on his tomb in Weſtminſter-Abbey, it is ſaid he was born in the year 1510, and died in 1596; Camden ſays 1598: but in regard to his birth, both the dates muſt be wrong, for it is by no means probable he was born ſo early as 1510, if we may judge by the remarkable circumſtance of his ſtanding for a fellowſhip in competition with Mr. Andrews, who was not born, according to Hughes, till 1555. Beſides, if this account of his birth be true, he muſt have been ſixty years old when he firſt publiſhed his Shepherd's Calendar, an age not very proper for love; and in this caſe it is no wonder that the beautiful Roſalind ſlighted his addreſſes; and he muſt have been ſeventy years old when he entered into buſineſs under lord Grey, who was created deputy of Ireland in 1580: for which reaſons we may fairly conclude, that the inſcription is falſe, probably through the error of the ſculptor, who had the care of repairing the monument in after-times. The original inſcription

was in Latin, and had this remarkable memorial *immatura morte*, which would have been highly improper if he had been born in 1510, and lived to 1598.

We have very few anecdotes of the private life of this great poet, and this muſt be a mortification to all lovers of the muſes, as he was the greateſt ornament of his profeſſion, in the age in which he lived. No writer ever found a nearer way to the heart, and his verſes have a peculiar happineſs of recommending the author to our friendſhip, as well as raiſing our admiration; one cannot read him without fancying one's-ſelf tranſported into fairy-land, and there converſing with the graces in that enchanted region. In elegance of thinking and fertility of imagination, few of our Engliſh authors have approached him, and no writers ever poſſeſſed equal power to awake the ſpirit of poetry in others. Cowley owns that he derived inſpiration from him: the celebrated Mr. James Thomſon, the author of the Seaſons, juſtly eſteemed one of our beſt deſcriptive poets, uſed to ſay, that he formed himſelf upon Spenſer; and how cloſely he purſued his model, and how nobly he has imitated him, whoever reads his Caſtle of Indolence with taſte, will readily confeſs. Mr. Addiſon, in his Characters of the Engliſh poets, addreſſed to Mr. Sacheverel, thus ſpeaks of Spenſer:

" Old Spenſer next, warm'd with poetic rage,
" In ancient tales amus'd a barbarous age;
" An age, that yet uncultivate and rude,
" Where'er the poet's fancy led, puſu'd
" Thro' pathleſs fields, and unfrequented floods,
" To dens of dragons, and enchanted woods.
" But now the myſtic tale, that pleas'd of yore,
" Can charm an underſtanding age no more;
" The long-ſpun allegories, fulſome grow,
" While the dull moral lies too plain below.

" We

" We view well pleaſed at diſtance, all the ſights,
" Of arms, and palfries, battles, fields, and fights,
" And damſels in diſtreſs, and courteous knights.
" But when we look too near, the ſhades decay,
" And all the pleaſing landſcape fades away."

It is agreed on all hands, that the diſtreſſes of our author helped to ſhorten his days; and indeed, when his extraordinary merit is conſidered, he had the hardeſt meaſure of any of our poets. It appears from different accounts, that he was of an amiable, ſweet diſpoſition, humane and generous in his nature. Beſides the Fairy Queen, we find he had written ſeveral other pieces, of which we can only trace out the titles; the works being loſt. Amongſt theſe, the moſt conſiderable were nine comedies, in imitation of the comedies of his admired Arioſto, inſcribed with the names of the nine muſes. The reſt which we find mentioned in his letters, and thoſe of his friends, are his Dying Pelican, his Pageants, Stommata, Dudleyana, The Canticles paraphraſed, Eccleſiaſtes, Seven Pſalms, Houſe of our Lord, Sacrifice of a Sinner, Purgatory, A Seven Night's Slumber, The Court of Cupid and Hell of Lovers. It is likewiſe ſaid he had written a treatiſe in proſe, called, The Engliſh poet; as for the epithalamium, Thameſis, and his Dreams, both mentioned by himſelf in one of his letters, Mr. Hughes thinks they are ſtill preſerved, though under different names. It appears from what is ſaid of the Dreams, by his friend Mr. Hervey, that they were in imitation of Petrarch's Viſions.

The works of Spenſer will never periſh; though he has introduced unneceſſarily, many obſolete terms into them, there is a flow of poetry, an elegance of ſentiment, a fund of imagination, and an enchanting enthuſiaſm, which will ſecure him the applauſes of poſterity, while any lovers of poetry

remain. We find but little account of the family which Spenſer left behind him, only that in a few particulars of his life, prefixed to the laſt folio edition of his works, it is ſaid, that his great-grandſon, Hugolin Spenſer, after the reſtoration of king Charles II. was inveſted by the court of claims with ſo much of the lands as could be found to have been his anceſtor's. There is another remarkable paſſage, of which, ſays Hughes, I can give the reader much better aſſurance: that a perſon came over from Ireland, in king William's time, to ſolicit the ſame affair, and brought with him letters of recommendation, as a deſcendant of Spenſer. His name procured him a favourable reception, and he applied particularly to Mr. Congreve, by whom he was generouſly recommended to the favour of the earl of Halifax, then at the head of the treaſury; by whoſe means he obtained his ſuit. This man was ſomewhat advanced in years, and might be the perſon before-mentioned, who had poſſibly recovered only ſome part of his eſtate at firſt, or had been diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of it. He could give no account of the works of his anceſtor, which are wanting, and which are therefore in all probability, irrecoverably loſt. The following ſtanzas are ſaid to be thoſe with which Sir Philip Sidney was firſt ſtruck.

From him returning, ſad and comfortleſs,
As on the way together we did fare,
We met that villain (God from him me bleſs)
That curſed wight, whom I eſcaped whylear,
A man of hell, that calls himſelf deſpair;
Who firſt us greets, and after fair areeds
Of tidings ſtrange, and of adventures rare,
So creeping cloſe, as ſnake in hidden weeds,
Inquireth of our ſtates, and of our knightly deeds
Which

Which when he knew, and felt our feeble hearts
Embos'd with bole, and bitter biting grief,
Which love had lanced with his deadly darts,
With wounding words, and terms of foul reprief,
He pluck'd from us all hope of due relief;
That erſt us held in love of ling'ring life;
Then hopeleſs, heartleſs, 'gan the cunning thief,
Perſuade us did, to ſtint all farther ſtrife:
To me he lent this rope, to him a ruſty knife.

The following is the Picture of the CAVE of DESPAIR.

The darkſome cave they enter, where they find,
That curſed man, low ſitting on the ground,
Muſing full ſadly in his ſullen mind;
His greaſy locks, long growing, and unbound,
Diſorder'd hung about his ſhoulders round,
And hid his face; thro' which his hollow eyne,
Look'd deadly dull, and ſtared as aſtound;
His raw-bone cheeks thro' penury and pine,
Were ſhrunk into his jaws, as he did never dine.

His garments nought, but many ragged clouts,
With thorns together pinn'd and patched was,
The which his naked ſides he wrapt abouts;
And him beſide, there lay upon the graſs
A dreary corſe, whoſe life away did paſs,
All wallowed in his own, yet lukewarm blood,
That from his wound yet welled freſh alas;
In which a ruſty knife faſt fixed ſtood,
And made an open paſſage for the guſhing flood.

It would be an injury to Spenſer's memory to diſmiſs his life without a few remarks on that maſterly performance, which has placed him among the foremoſt of our poets. The work I mean is his allegorical poem of the Fairy Queen. Sir

William Temple, in his Eſſay on Poetry, ſays, "That the religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the contexture of all the ancient poetry with an agreeable mixture, which made the moderns affect to give that of Chriſtianity a place alſo in their poems; but the true religion was not found to become fictions ſo well as the falſe one had done, and all their attempts of this kind ſeemed rather to debaſe religion than heighten poetry. Spenſer endeavoured to ſupply this with morality, and to make inſtruction, inſtead of ſtory, the ſubject of an epic poem. His execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high. But his deſign was poor; and his moral lay ſo bare, that it loſt the effect. It is true, the pill was gilded, but ſo thin, that the colour and the taſte were eaſily diſcovered."—Mr. Thomas Rhymer aſſerts, that Spenſer may be reckoned the firſt of our heroic poets. "He had," ſays he, "a large ſpirit, a ſharp judgment, and a genius for heroic poetry, perhaps above any that ever wrote ſince Virgil; but our misfortune is, he wanted a true idea, and loſt himſelf by following an unfaithful guide. Though beſides Homer and Virgil he had read Taſſo, yet he rather ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by Arioſto, with whom blindly rambling on marvels and adventures, he makes no conſcience of probability; all is fanciful and chimerical, without any uniformity, or without any foundation in truth; in a word, his poem is perfect Fairy-land." Thus far Sir William Temple, and Mr. Rhymer; let us now attend to the opinion of a greater name, Mr. Dryden, who in his dedication of his tranſlation of Juvenal, thus proceeds: "The Engliſh have only to boaſt of Spenſer and Milton in heroic poetry, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect poets, and yet both of them are liable to many cenſures; for there is no uniformity

mity in the design of Spenser; he aims at the accomplishment of no one action; he raises up a hero for every one of his adventures, and endows each of them with some particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without subordination, or preference: every one is valiant in his own legend; only we must do him the justice to observe, that magnanimity, which is the character of prince Arthur, shines throughout the whole poem, and succours the rest when they are in distress. The original of every knight was then living in the court of queen Elizabeth, and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought most conspicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account. Had he lived to have finished his poem in the remaining legends, it had certainly been more of a piece; but could not have been perfect, because the model was not true. But prince Arthur, or his chief patron, Sir Philip Sidney, dying before him, deprived the poet both of means and spirit to accomplish his design. For the rest, his obsolete language, and ill choice of his stanzas, are faults but of the second magnitude; for notwithstanding the first, he is still intelligible, at least after a little practice: and, for the last, he is more to be admired; that, labouring under such disadvantages, his verses are so numerous, so various, and so harmonious, that only Virgil, whom he has professedly imitated, hath surpassed him among the Romans; and only Waller among the English."

Mr. Hughes justly observes, that the chief merit of this poem consists in that surprising vein of fabulous invention which runs through it, and enriches it every where with imaginary descriptions, more than we meet with in any modern poem. The author seems to be possessed of a kind of poetical magic; and the figures he calls up to our view, rise

riſe up ſo thick upon us, that we are at once pleaſed and diſtracted with the inexhauſtible variety of them; ſo that his faults may, in a manner, be imputed to his excellencies. His abundance betrays him into exceſs; and his judgment is overborne by the torrent of his imagination.

Upon the whole, Mr. Warton ſeems to have given the moſt accurate, candid criticiſm on this celebrated poem, of all the writers on this delicate ſubject.

"If the Fairy Queen be deſtitute of that arrangement and œconomy which epic ſeverity requires, yet we ſcarcely regret the loſs of theſe, while their place is ſo amply ſupplied by ſomething which more powerfully attracts us; ſomething which engages the affections, the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head. If there be any poem, whoſe graces pleaſe, becauſe they are ſituated beyond the reach of art, and where the force and faculties of creative imagination delight, becauſe they are unaſſiſted and unreſtrained by thoſe of deliberate judgment, it is this. In reading Spenſer, if the critic is not ſatisfied, yet the reader is tranſported.

Spenſer's works were publiſhed in 6 vol. 12mo. by John Hughes, with an account of his life and a gloſſary. Reprinted in 1750. Dr. Birch publiſhed an edition of the Fairy Queen, 3 vol. in 4to. 1751. Three more editions of this poem were publiſhed in 1758. In 1734, Dr. Jortin publiſhed remarks on Spenſer's poems in 8vo. And laſtly, Mr. Warton publiſhed Obſervations on the Fairy Queen, which were ſo well received, that a ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1762. Theſe being the ſeveral authorities from which our memoirs of this celebrated poet are taken, it is needleſs to add any other.

The

The LIFE of

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

[A. D. 1564, to 1613.]

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, the immortal father of the Britiſh theatre; the glory of his age and of his country; whoſe dramatic works have ſtood the teſt of the ſevereſt criticiſms, eſpecially from foreigners, and, with all their imperfections on their heads, ſtill remain unrivalled by any modern bard; was the ſon of Mr. John Shakeſpeare, and was born at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickſhire, in April, 1564, as it appears by the public records of that town; and the family from which he was deſcended, are mentioned in the ſaid records, as perſons of good figure and faſhion in that place, of the rank of gentry. His father, who was a conſiderable dealer in wool, being encumbered with a large family of ten children, could afford to give his eldeſt ſon but a ſlender education. He had bred him at a free-ſchool, where he acquired what Latin he was maſter of; but how well he underſtood that language; or whether, after his leaving the ſchool, he made a greater proficiency in it, has been diſputed, and is a point very difficult to ſettle. However, it is certain, that Mr. John Shakeſpeare, our author's father, was obliged to withdraw him early from ſchool, in order to have his aſſiſtance in his own employment, towards ſupporting the reſt of the family.

"It

"It is without controverſy," ſays Rowe, "that in his works we ſcarce find any traces that look like an imitation of the ancients. The delicacy of his taſte, and the natural bent of his own genius, equal, if not ſuperior, to ſome of the beſt of theirs, would certainly have led him to read and ſtudy them with ſo much pleaſure, that ſome of their fine images would naturally have inſinuated themſelves into, and been mixed with, his own writings; ſo that his not copying at leaſt ſomething from them, may be an argument of his never having read them. Whether his ignorance of the ancients was diſadvantageous to him or no, may admit of diſpute; for, though the knowledge of them might have made him more correct, yet it is not improbable, but the regularity and deference for them which would have attended that correctneſs, might have reſtrained ſome of that fire, impetuoſity, and even beautiful extravagance, which we cannot help admiring in Shakeſpeare."

As to his want of learning, Mr. Pope makes the following juſt obſervation: That there is certainly a vaſt difference between learning and languages. "How far he was ignorant of the latter, I cannot," ſays he, "determine; but it is plain he had much reading, at leaſt, if they will not call it learning: nor is it any great matter if a man has knowledge, whether he has it from one language or from another. Nothing is more evident than, that he had a taſte for natural philoſophy, mechanics, ancient and modern hiſtory, poetical learning, and mythology. We find him very converſant in the cuſtoms, rites and manners of the Romans. In Coriolanus and Julius Cæſar, not only the ſpirit, but the manners, of the Romans, are exactly drawn; and ſtill a nicer diſtinction is ſhewn between the manners of the Romans in the time of the former and the latter. His reading in the ancient hiſtorians is no

leſs

leſs conſpicuous, in many references to particular paſſages; and the ſpeeches copied from Plutarch in Coriolanus, may as well be made inſtances of his learning, as thoſe copied from Cicero in the Catiline of Ben Jonſon.

"The manners of other nations in general, the Ægyptians, Venetians, French, &c. are drawn with equal propriety. Whatever object of nature, or branch of ſcience, he either ſpeaks or deſcribes, it is always with competent, if not extenſive knowledge. His deſcriptions are ſtill exact, and his metaphors appropriated, and remarkably drawn, from the nature and inherent qualities of each ſubject."

Warburton, biſhop of Glouceſter, has ſtrongly contended for Shakeſpeare's learning, and has produced many imitations and parallel paſſages with ancient authors; in which I am inclined to think him right, and ſhall therefore produce a few inſtances of it. "He always," ſays Mr. Warburton, "makes an ancient ſpeak the language of an ancient. So Julius Cæſar, act i. ſcene 2.

——Ye Gods! it doth amaze me
A man of ſuch a feeble temper ſhould
So get the ſtart of the majeſtic world,
And bear the palm alone.

This noble image is taken from the Olympic games. "This majeſtic world," is a fine periphraſis of the Roman empire; majeſtic, becauſe the Romans ranked themſelves on a footing with kings; and a world, becauſe they called their empire Orbis Romanus; but the whole ſtory ſeems to allude to Cæſar's great exemplar, Alexander, who, when he was aſked, Whether he would run the courſe of the Olympic games? replied, "Yes, if the racers were kings." So again, in Anthony and Cleopatra,

Cleopatra, act i. ſcene 1. Anthony ſays, with an aſtoniſhing ſublimity,

Let Rome in Tyber melt, and the wide arch
Of the raz'd empire fall.

Taken from the Roman cuſtom of raiſing triumphal arches to perpetuate their victories.

And again, act iii. ſcene 4. Octavia ſays to Anthony, of the difference between him and her brother,

——Wars 'twixt you twain would be
As if the world ſhould cleave, and that ſlain men
Should ſolder up the reſt.

This thought ſeems taken from the ſtory of Curtius leaping into the chaſm in the Forum, in order to cloſe it; ſo that, as that was cloſed by one Roman, if the whole world were to cleave, Romans only could ſolder it up. The metaphor of ſoldering is extremely exact, according to Mr. Warburton; for, ſays he, "as metal is ſoldered up by metal that is more refined than that which it ſolders; ſo the earth was to be ſoldered by men, who are only a more refined earth."

But there are ſeveral places which one cannot forbear thinking a tranſlation from claſſic writers. In the Tempeſt, act v. ſcene 11. Proſpero ſays,

——— I have
Called forth the mutinous winds,
And, 'twixt the green ſea, and the azur'd vault,
Set roaring war; to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's ſtout oak
With his own bolt; the ſtrong bas'd promontory
Have I made ſhake; and by the ſpurs pluckt up
The pine and cedar; graves, at my command,
Have

Have wak'd their ſleepers, op'd and let them forth
By my ſo potent art.

So Medea, in Ovid's Metamorphoſes.

Stantia concutio cantu freta; nubila pello,
Nubilaque induco, ventos abigoque, vocoque,
Vivaque ſaxa ſua convulſaque robora terra
Et ſylvas moveo; jubeoque emiſcere montes,
Et mugire ſolum, maneſque exire ſepulchris.

The lateſt and moſt ingenious writer upon the the critical diſpute reſpecting our author's learning, is Mr. Farmer of Emanuel college, Cambridge, who in his eſſay on this ſubject, has thrown out a preſumptive proof that he was not ſo well acquainted with the learned languages as to read the Greek and Roman authors. Mr. Farmer mentions ſeveral Engliſh tranſlations of claſſical writers extant in Shakeſpear's time, from which ſource he very naturally ſuppoſes he drew his imitations of particular paſſages in the antients, and he ſpecifies particular references in his plays to ſome of theſe tranſlations, from whence he concludes, that the ſtudies of Shakeſpeare were confined to nature and his own language. Here we wiſh to reſt the evidence on this undecided queſtion; without drawing any concluſion of our own: that we may return to the more direct line of our duty; the narrative of the incidents of his life.

Upon his quitting the grammar ſchool, he ſeems to have entirely devoted himſelf to that way of living which his father purſued; and, in order to ſettle in the world in a family manner, he thought fit to marry while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter of one Hatchway, ſaid to have been a ſubſtantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford.

In this kind of domeſtic obſcurity he continued for ſome time, till, by an unhappy inſtance of miſconduct, he was obliged to quit the place of his nativity, and take ſhelter in London; which fortunately proved the occaſion of diſplaying his ſublime genius for dramatic poetry. He had the misfortune to fall into ill company. Among theſe were ſome who made a frequent practice of deer-ſtealing, and who engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecot, near Stratford; for which he was proſecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, ſomewhat too ſeverely; and, in order to revenge himſelf for this ſuppoſed ill uſage, he made a ballad upon him; and, this, probably the firſt eſſay of his poetry, is loſt; but it is ſaid to have been ſo very bitter, that it redoubled the proſecution againſt him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his buſineſs and family for ſome time, and to ſeek for employment in London.

This Sir Thomas Lucy was, it is ſaid, afterwards ridiculed by Shakeſpeare, under the well known character of Juſtice Shallow. It was at this time, and upon this accident, that he is ſaid to have made his firſt acquaintance in the playhouſe.

Concerning Shakeſpeare's firſt mean occupation at the playhouſe, we have the following curious particulars taken from unqueſtionable authorities: when he came to London he was without money and friends; and, being a ſtranger, he knew not to whom to apply, nor by what means to ſupport himſelf. At that time, coaches not being in uſe, as gentlemen were accuſtomed to ride to the playhouſe, Shakeſpeare, driven to the laſt neceſſity, attended at the door, and picked up a little money by taking care of the gentlemens horſes who came to the play. He became eminent, even in that humble ſtation, and was taken notice of for his diligence

diligence and ſkill in it. He had quickly more buſineſs than he himſelf could manage, and at laſt hired boys under him, who were known by the name of Shakeſpeare's boys. And though he ſoon found means of acting in his proper ſphere, that of a dramatic writer, yet as long as the cuſtom of going to the theatre on horſeback continued, the waiters who held the horſes retained the appellation of Shakeſpeare's boys.

Some of the players accidentally converſing with him, found him poſſeſſed of an admirable fund of wit, and talents adapted to the ſtage, and aſtoniſhed at this unexpected diſcovery, they introduced and recommended him to the company, into whoſe ſociety he was admitted, but in a very humble walk, and upon low terms; however, he did not long remain ſo, for he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf, if not as an extraordinary actor, at leaſt as a fine writer. His name is printed, as the cuſtom was in thoſe times, amongſt thoſe of the other players, before ſome old plays, but without any particular account of what caſt of characters he uſed to play; and after the moſt diligent reſearches, it appears, that the moſt conſiderable part he ever performed, was the Ghoſt, in his own hiſtorical tragedy of Hamlet.

It would undoubtedly afford great ſatisfaction to the curious to be able to aſcertain from proper authorities, what was the firſt poetical eſſay of the immenſe genius of Shakeſpeare, that it might be traced through its gradual progreſſions to that ſummit of perfection it at length attained. But here likewiſe we are left in the dark.

The higheſt date which Rowe has been able to trace, is Romeo and Juliet, in 1597, when the author was thirty-three years old; and Richard II. and III. the next year.

Yet

Yet though the order of time in which his several pieces were written be generally uncertain, there are paſſages in ſome few of them, that ſeem to fix their dates. So the chorus at the end of the fourth act of Henry V. by a compliment very handſomely turned to the earl of Eſſex, ſhews the play to have been written when that nobleman was the queen's general in Ireland; and his eulogium upon queen Elizabeth, and her ſucceſſor king James, in the latter end of Henry VIII. is a proof of that play's being written after the acceſſion of the latter of theſe two princes to the throne of England.

Whatever the particular times of his writings were, the people of the age he lived in, who began to grow wonderfully fond of diverſions of this kind, could not but be highly pleaſed to ſee a genius ariſe amongſt them, of ſo pleaſurable, ſo rich, and ſo abundant a vein, capable of furniſhing variety of their favourite entertainments.

Beſides the advantage which Shakeſpeare had over all men in the article of wit, he was of a ſweet, gentle, amiable diſpoſition, and was a moſt agreeable companion; by which he endeared himſelf to all who knew him, both as a friend and as a poet; ſo that he was introduced into the beſt company, and converſed with the fineſt characters of his time.

Queen Elizabeth had ſeveral of his plays acted before her; and ſhe was too quick a diſcerner of merit, to ſuffer Shakeſpeare's to eſcape her notice. It is aſſuredly, that maiden princeſs, whom he thus deſcribes

——A fair veſtal, throned by the weſt.
Midſummer Night Dream.

Queen Elizabeth was ſo well pleaſed with the admirable character of Falſtaff, in the two parts of

of Henry IV. that ſhe commanded him to continue it in one play more, and to make him in love. This is ſaid to have been the occaſion of his writing the Merry Wives of Windſor. And here I cannot help obſerving, That a poet ſeldom ſucceeds in any ſubject aſſigned him, ſo well as in that which is his own choice, and where he has the liberty of ſelecting.

Nothing is more certain, than that Shakeſpear has failed in the Merry Wives of Windſor: and, though that comedy is not without merit, yet it falls ſhort of his other plays in which Falſtaff is introduced; the knight not being half ſo witty in the Merry Wives of Windſor as in king Henry IV. nor the character ſo well ſuſtained throughout.

It appears by the epilogue to Henry IV. that the part of Falſtaff was written originally under the name of Oldcaſtle. Some of that family being then remaining, the queen was pleaſed to command him to alter it; upon which he made uſe of the name of Falſtaff. The firſt offence was indeed avoided; but I am not ſure whether the author might not be ſomewhat to blame in his ſecond choice, ſince it is certain that Sir John Falſtaff, who was a knight of the garter, and a lieutenant-general, was a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit in the wars againſt France, in the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI.

Beſides the royal patronage, Shakeſpeare received many great and uncommon favours from the generous earl of Southampton, ſo famous in hiſtory for his friendſhip to the unfortunate earl of Eſſex. It was to that nobleman he dedicated his poem of Venus and Adonis; and it is reported, that his lordſhip gave our author a thouſand pounds to enable him to accompliſh a purchaſe he heard he had a mind to make. A bounty, at that time, very conſider-

conſiderable, as money was then valued. There are few inſtances of ſuch liberality in our times.

We have no clear account when Shakeſpeare quitted the ſtage for a private life. Some have thought that Spenſer's Thalia, in the Tears of the Muſes, where ſhe laments the loſs of her Willy, in the comic ſcene, relates to our poet's abandoning the ſtage: but it is well known that Spenſer himſelf died in the year 1598; and five years after this, we find Shakeſpeare's name among the actors in Ben Johnſon's Sejanus, which firſt made its appearance in 1603; nor could he then have any thoughts of retiring, ſince, that very year, a licence, by king James I. was granted to him, with Burbage, Philips, Hemmings, Condel, &c. to exerciſe the art of playing comedies, tragedies, &c. as well at their uſual houſe, called the Globe, on the Bank-ſide, Southwark, as in any other part of the kingdom, during his majeſty's pleaſure. This licence is printed in Rymer's Fœdera. Beſides, it is certain Shakeſpeare did not write Macbeth till after the acceſſion of king James I. which he did as a compliment to him, as he there embraces the doctrine of witches; of which his majeſty was ſo fond, that he wrote a book called Dæmonalogy, in defence of their exiſtence; and likewiſe, at that time, began to touch for the evil; which Shakeſpeare has taken notice of, and paid him a fine-turned compliment upon it. So that the paſſage in Thalia, if it relates at all to Shakeſpeare, muſt hint at ſome occaſional receſs which he made for a time.

What particular friendſhips he contracted with private men, we cannot at this time know, more than that every one who had a true taſte for merit, and could diſtinguiſh men, had generally a juſt value and eſteem for him. His uncommon candor

dor and good nature must certainly have inclined all the gentler part of the world to love him, as the power of his wit obliged the men of the most refined knowledge and polite learning, to admire him.

His acquaintance with Ben Jonson began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good nature. Mr. Jonson, who was, at that time, altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his plays to the stage, in order to have it acted; and the person into whose hands it was put, after having turned it carelessly over, was just upon returning it to him, with an ill-natured answer; that it would be of no service to their company; when Shakespeare luckily cast his eye upon it, and found something of such merit in it, as to engage him first to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Jonson, and his writings, to the public.

The latter part of our author's life was spent in ease and retirement; he had the good fortune to acquire a decent competency; and he resided some years before his death at his native town, Stratford upon Avon, in a handsome house he had purchased, to which he gave the name of *New Place*; he had likewise the good fortune to save it from the flames, when a dreadful fire consumed the greatest part of the town in 1614. His pleasant wit and good-nature engaged him the acquaintance, and intitled him to the friendship of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. It is still remembered in that country, that he had a particular intimacy with one Mr. Combe, an old gentleman, noted for his wealth, avarice, and usury. It happened that, in a pleasant conversation amongst their common friends, Mr. Combe merrily told Shakespeare, that he fancied he intended to write his epitaph, if he happened to out-live him; and since he could not know what might be said of him when dead, he

desired

desired it might be done immediately; upon which Shakespeare gave him these lines:

Ten in the hundred lies here ingraved,
'Tis an hundred to ten he is not saved:
If any man asketh, who lies in this tomb?
Oh! oh! quoth the devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.

But the sharpness of the satire is said to have stung the man so severely, that he never forgave it.

In the beginning of the year 1616, Shakespeare made his will, in which he left 150l. to his eldest daughter, Judith, to be paid to her within twelve-months after his decease; and 150l. more to be paid to her three years after the date of his will. But he appointed his youngest daughter, who was his favourite, and her husband Dr. John Hall, a physician of great repute in the county, joint-executors; bequeathing to them the best part of his estate. He also left legacies to his sister Joan, and her three sons; ten pounds to the poor of Stratford; his sword to Mr. Thomas Combe, and rings to his old associates in the play-house, Hemmings, Burbage, and Condel.

He died in April of the same year, and was interred on the north-side of the chancel, in the great church of Stratford, where a handsome monument was erected for him, on which the following distich is inscribed:

Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mærit, Olympus habet.

And, on the grave-stone, in the pavement, underneath, are these lines:

Good

Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear,
To dig the dust inclosed here.
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curs'd be he that moves my bones.

In the year 1740, a very noble monument was erected to the memory of our immortal bard, in Westminster-Abbey, at the public expence. For this purpose, his tragedy of Julius Cæsar was performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, on the 28th of April, 1738. The tickets for admission were fixed at an extraordinary price. The earl of Burlington, Dr. Mead, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Fleetwood, patentee of the theatre, were appointed trustees upon this occasion, and under their direction the monument was designed by Mr. Kent, and executed by Scheemakers, an eminent statuary.

The figure of Shakespeare is a whole length, in white marble, dressed in the habits of his time; reclining on the right arm, which is supported by a pedestal, from the top of which issues a scroll, having the following lines of his TEMPEST inscribed thereon:

The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces;
The solemn temples, the great globe itself;
Yea, all which it inhabit shall dissolve,
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind.

It is to be lamented, that so few incidents of the life of Shakespeare have been handed down to posterity; but this may easily be accounted for, from the little vicissitude to which it was subject. A single accident carried him to London; and here the constant exertion of his great abilities, conducted him by an easy regular transition, from indigence and obscurity to competency and fame: his

found judgment suggested to him the felicity of retirement, as soon as he had accomplished his moderate wishes; and here the scene of active life closing, no extraordinary occurrences happened to swell the annals of his peaceful days.

But his immortal works have afforded employment for some of the ablest writers of the present century. Of whose labours we shall give a concise account, referring the reader for better satisfaction to the several editors of his dramatic works, whose voluminous annotations, criticisms, and various readings, cannot be brought within the compass of this work.

It is generally agreed, that only eleven of his plays were printed while the author was living, and that these were neither revised by him, nor published under his inspection. It is likewise observed, by Dr. Samuel Johnson, "that he has suffered more than any other writer since the use of types, from his own negligence of fame, or perhaps by that superiority of mind, which despised its own performances, when it compared them with its powers; and judged those works unworthy to be preserved, which the critics of following ages were to contend for the fame of restoring and explaining."

The folio edition, in which all the plays we now receive as Shakespeare's, were first collected, was published by the two players, Hemmings and Condel, in 1623, seven years after the death of their author. From this period to 1714, no critic of superior genius attempted "to restore and explain:" in that year, the celebrated Mr. Rowe published an edition, but by more modern critics, it is said, that this is a very defective one, the plays being left exactly in the same incorrect state in which the editor found them; all he has done therefore, is to add notes, not much esteemed by the judicious.

In

In 1721, Mr. Pope printed a new edition, with ſeveral corrections and emendations; but he gained little or no reputation, for this very reaſon, that he pointed out his defects, at a time, when a falſe zeal for Shakeſpeare firſt began to ſhew itſelf: Pope unluckily, but with great truth obſerved, that as he had written better, ſo he had perhaps written worſe than any other Engliſh dramatic writer. This from a brother poet was then aſcribed to envy, but now, when prejudice and the idle vanity of one man, have taught the preſent generation to idolize Shakeſpeare, it is downright profanation.

In 1733, Mr. Theobald publiſhed another edition in 8vo, which is one of the beſt; it was reprinted in 12mo in 1757, and again very lately. In 1744, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. publiſhed a pompous edition in 4to, at Oxford, with emendations. In 1747, Warburton, biſhop of Glouceſter, publiſhed another edition in 8vo, with Pope's and his own notes. In 1765, a learned, critical edition, replete with typographical errors, becauſe the editor is too great a man to attend to ſuch minutiæ, was publiſhed by Dr. Samuel Johnſon. In 1768, a correct edition in ſmall 8vo was publiſhed by Edward Capell, Eſq; and to cloſe the liſt, Dr. Johnſon, having found out an indefatigable coadjutor, in Mr. Steevens, a gentleman bleſſed with affluence and leiſure, an adorer of Shakeſpeare, and a judicious, candid writer; they have jointly produced a very correct edition indeed, with reſpect to typography, but Mr. Steevens has been prevented by his idolatrous reverence for Shakeſpeare, and his unlimited veneration for Johnſon, from doing the greateſt honour to Shakeſpeare's genius, by expunging what could not be, what certainly never was his.

Yet, if any regard ought to be paid to the cenſures paſt on our immortal bard, by learned foreigners,

and even by such of his countrymen, who have not been blind to his defects, while they admired all his real excellencies; it should seem, that the hint thrown out by Pope, might have been made the ground of a chaste edition of Shakespeare, freed from all the low ribaldry and obscenity, which we have reason to believe was foisted in by the players, his cotemporaries, to suit the humour of the times. That great critic very sensibly observes, "that the folio edition of Hemmings and Condel, contains additions of trifling and bombast passages, not to be found in the edition published in his life-time: that Shakespeare himself complains of the players, adding to their parts in the delivery," which custom prevails shamefully to this hour. And it must be remembered, that when Shakespeare first made his appearance as an author, dramatic writing was at a very low ebb; good players held a higher rank in the public estimation, than writers for the stage, and our bard was under the pressure of indigent circumstances.

Let us suppose this to be the case at present with any modern dramatic writer (the very reverse of the truth) and should not we be pestered in print, with the low puns, witticisms, and additional oaths of Messrs. Shuter and Weston, ambitious to circulate amongst the public, and to transmit to posterity their precious *addenda*, which might hereafter be incorporated with the moral drama of the chaste and sentimental Cumberland.

Pope pursues this idea, by remarking, "that in the old editions of Romeo and Juliet, there is no hint of a great number of the mean conceits and ribaldries now to be found there. In others, the low scenes of mobs, plebeians, and clowns, are vastly shorter than at present;" and he illustrates his just criticism by a variety of circumstances, which plainly demonstrate, that the folio edition was

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printed from play-house printed copies, one of which he says he saw, with additions to the parts in writing.

Why then should we be angry with Voltaire or David Hume, for pointing out the irregularities, absurdities, and deformities which lessen the reputation of Shakespeare, by being suffered to remain, even in the latest editions of his works?

"Had the author," adds Mr. Pope, "published his own works, after his retreat from the stage, we should not only have been certain which plays were genuine, but we should have found in those that are, the errors lessened by some thousands. And how many low and vicious parts and passages might no longer reflect on this great genius, but appear unworthily charged upon him."

I want no better authority to countenance an assertion, for which I should otherwise be charged with arrogance and presumption by that haughty dictator in the regions of literature, Dr. Samuel Johnson; who, having established a name, now insults the public with political trash that would disgrace the pen of a school-boy.

I boldly maintain then, that the time and expence bestowed by Warburton, Johnson and others, on surcharging our author's works with puerile, erroneous notes and criticisms, under the idle pretext of restoring and explaining, would have been much better employed in composing and publishing such a chaste edition of Shakespeare, as prudent professors in universities and academies at home and abroad should not be ashamed to put into the hands, and recommend to the study of their pupils.

It will be said, that such an edition must proceed upon conjecture and presumption of what is, and what is not Shakespeare's. My reply is, that most of the useless notes and criticisms of Warburton

and Johnſon, are founded on wild, improbable conjectures, and arbitrary determinations.

Now let me aſk any rational admirer, not a ſenſeleſs adorer of Shakeſpeare, if better ſervice would not be done to the cauſe of Britiſh literature and to the memory of Shakeſpeare, ſhould ſome able critic proceed upon probable conjecture, to expunge, abridge, correct and purify Shakeſpeare's works, than by printing volumes upon volumes of ſuch puerile notes.

It is confeſſed, that many of our author's plays now extended to five, originally conſiſted of only three acts; why not reduce them for the ſake of baniſhing ſcenes and paſſages hardly fit to be repreſented or repeated in a booth at a village fair? Why not put the text into the language of the times, and the obſolete expreſſions into notes, to be preſerved only as the relics of antiquity?

I will aſſign, what I fear is the true cauſe; his late editors; and the great, the inimitable perſonifier of his principal characters on the ſtage, have been more ſolicitous to erect trophies to their own vanity, than to increaſe and preſerve the reputation of their great maſter, by enabling him to ſtand the teſt of an enlightened age, in which, ſound learning, unclogged with ſcholaſtic pedantry, and true taſte refined from the droſs of low ribaldry, puns, jeſts and obſcenities, enable us not only to judge when the dr ma is noble, chaſte, and elegant, but to diſtinguiſh between the glaring defects, and the aſtoniſhing beauties of even the immortal Shakeſpeare.

Shakeſpeare's widow ſurvived him ſeven years, and his family became extinct in the third generation after him; for his eldeſt daughter married Mr. Thomas Quincey, by whom ſhe had three ſons, but they died without iſſue.

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As for Mrs. Hall, she left one child, a daughter, who was married to Thomas Nash, Esq; and afterwards to Sir John Bernard, of Abingdon, but she likewise died without issue.

We have only to add the following list of the dramatic works published under our author's name, distinguishing with an asterism those which the critics, with great reason, reject, as pieces improperly ascribed to him.

1. The Tempest, a Comedy, acted in the Black Fryars, with applause.

2. The two Gentlemen of Verona, a Comedy, written at the command of queen Elizabeth.

3. The First and Second Parts of king Henry IV. The character of Falstaff in these plays is justly esteemed a master-piece; in the second part is the coronation of king Henry V. These are founded upon English history.

4. The Merry Wives of Windsor, a Comedy, written at the command of queen Elizabeth.

5. Measure for Measure, a Comedy; the plot of this play is taken from a novel of Cynthio Giraldi.

6. The Comedy of Errors, founded upon the Mænechmi of Plautus.

7. Much-a-do About Nothing, a Comedy; for the plot see Ariosto's Orlando Furioso.

8. Love's Labour Lost, a Comedy.

9. Midsummer Night's Dream, a Comedy.

10. The Merchant of Venice, a Tragi-Comedy.

11. As You Like it, a Comedy.

12. The Taming of a Shrew, a Comedy.

13. All's Well that Ends Well. The story, from one of the novels of Boccace.

14. The Twelfth-Night; or, What you will, a Comedy.

15. The Winter's Tale, a Tragi-Comedy; the plot of this play, is borrowed from Robert Green's novel of Doraſtus and Faunia.

16. The Life and Death of King John, an hiſtorical play.

17. The Life and Death of King Richard II. an hiſtorical play.

18. The Life of King Henry V. an hiſtorical play.

19. The Firſt Part of King Henry VI. an hiſtorical play.

20. The Second Part of King Henry VI. with the death of the good Duke Humphrey.

21. The Third Part of Henry VI. with the death of the Duke of York. Theſe three plays contain the whole reign of that unhappy monarch.

22. The Life and Death of Richard III. with the Landing of the Earl of Richmond, and the Battle of Boſworth-field.

23. The Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry VIII. This piece cloſes the hiſtorical drama of our author with reſpect to his native country.

24. Troilus and Creſſida, a Tragedy; the plot from Chaucer.

25. Coriolanus, a Tragedy; the ſtory from the Roman hiſtory.

26. Titus Andronicus, a Tragedy.

27. Romeo and Juliet, founded on a real Tragedy, that happened about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The ſtory, with all its circumſtances, is related by Girolame Corte, in his hiſtory of Verona. And our author has varied very little either in his names, characters, or other circumſtances, from truth and matter of fact; indeed this was his general rule, with reſpect to his hiſtorical plays, which makes them the more valuable.

28. Timon of Athens, a Tragedy; the plot from Lucian's Dialogues.

29. Julius

29. Julius Cæsar, a Tragedy.

30. The Tragedy of Macbeth; the plot from Buchanan, and other Scotch historians.

31. Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, a Tragedy.

32. King Lear, a Tragedy; the plot from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

33. Othello, the Moor of Venice, a Tragedy; the plot from Cynthio's Novels.

34. Anthony and Cleopatra; the story from Plutarch.

35. Cymbeline, a Tragedy; the plot partly from the Decameron of Boccace's novels; and partly from the ancient traditions of British history.

* 36. Pericles, Prince of Tyre; an historical play.

* 37. The London Prodigal, a Comedy.

* 38. The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell, the favourite of King Henry VIII.

* 39. The History of Sir John Oldcastle, the good Lord Cobham, a Tragedy. See Fox's Book of Martyrs.

* 40. The Puritan; or, the Widow of Watling-street, a Comedy.

* 41. A Yorkshire Tragedy; this is rather an Interlude, than a Tragedy, being very short, and not divided into acts.

* 42. The Tragedy of Locrine, the eldest Son of King Bruins. See the story in Milton's history of England.

The LIFE of

WILLIAM CAMDEN.

[A. D. 1551, to 1623.]

Including Memoirs of Sir THOMAS BODLEY, Founder of the Bodleian Library.

THE celebrated antiquary and hiſtorian, Mr. William Camden, was the ſon of Sampſon Camden of Litchfield, who ſettled in London, where our author was born in 1551; the rudiments of education he received at Chriſt's-hoſpital; but at twelve years of age, having been greatly injured in his health by the plague, he was ſent to Iſlington for the benefit of the air, where he remained for ſome time in ſo languid a condition, that he was unable to purſue his ſtudies. But upon his recovery, he went to St. Paul's-ſchool, till he was fifteen years of age, and was then ſent to Oxford, and admitted a ſervitor in Magdalen college: here he finiſhed his claſſical learning in the ſchool belonging to the college, under the care of Dr. Thomas Cooper, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln. Being diſappointed of a demy's place in this college, he removed to Broadgate-hall, now Pembroke college,

lege, and continued his academical ſtudies upwards of two years, under that able preceptor Dr. Thomas Thornton, who, entertaining ſentiments of eſteem and friendſhip for young Camden, became his firſt patron; and when the doctor was promoted to a canonry of Chriſt-church, he took his pupil with him, made him his companion, and lodged him in his own apartments.

The number of Camden's friends ſoon increaſed, by whoſe perſuaſion, he ſtood candidate for a fellowſhip in All-Soul's college; but the influence of the popiſh party prevailing in that ſociety, the election was carried againſt him. In 1570, he met with a more ſevere mortification, being refuſed the degree of bachelor of arts, but no reaſon is aſſigned for this extraordinary circumſtance.

About this time, he formed a cloſe friendſhip with Richard and George Carew, gentlemen of reſpectable families and conſiderable fortunes in Devonſhire, the latter of whom was created earl of Totneſs by James I. His new friends were antiquarians, and converſing with them, gave Camden an inclination to ſtudy this branch of hiſtory; with which he was at length ſo charmed, that he ſays, "he could never hear any thing mentioned relating to that ſubject, without more than ordinary attention." The antiquities of his own country were the objects of his laudable reſearches; and both before and after he left the univerſity, he made frequent excurſions, ſometimes in company with the Carews, and at others alone, to the different counties of England, to procure informations and materials towards forming thoſe collections from which he afterwards compoſed his celebrated work, intitled, BRITANNIA.

In 1571, he accepted a preſſing invitation from two worthy divines, Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean

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of Weſtminſter, and Dr. Godfrey Goodman, his brother, to ſettle near them in Weſtminſter; and they undertook to ſupply him with books, and every accommodation of life at their expence, till he ſhould meet with preferment ſuitable to his merit. In 1573, he went to Oxford, and ſtaid there near two years; during which time, he took up his degree of bachelor of arts, without oppoſition; and in 1575, by the intereſt of his friend the dean, he was appointed ſecond maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool; in which ſtation he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and ſtrengthened his connections in life. He could now only devote his leiſure hours to his favourite ſtudy, yet he had already made ſuch a progreſs in it, that his reputation, as an antiquary, daily increaſed, and procured him the eſteem and friendſhip of men of the firſt eminence in the learned world, both at home and abroad. Hotman, the celebrated French civilian and antiquarian; Juſtus Lipſius of Bruſſels, a moſt learned critic; James Douſa, or Vander-Doos, the younger, of the Hague, eminent for his Latin poetry; and Gruter of Antwerp, a famous critic and antiquarian, were all admirers of our author's talents for hiſtory and antiquities, and kept up a conſtant correſpondence with him. But the chief promoters of his BRITANNIA were Sir Philip Sidney, who furniſhed him with ſome valuable materials, and made him many conſiderable preſents; and Abraham Ortellius of Antwerp, the moſt celebrated geographer of the age, who viſited England, and being introduced to Camden, was ſo ſtruck with ſome ſpecimens of his learned criticiſms on hiſtorical ſubjects, that he importuned him by all means to complete and publiſh an hiſtory of the ancient ſtate of Britain. Accordingly, in compliance with the ſolicitations of ſuch reſpectable friends, with unwearied

wearied assiduity and close application he collated every historical or curious anecdote to be found, dispersed in the works of the ancients respecting the British isles: with the same attention he examined all the histories of Britain then extant in our language, or written in Latin by our own countrymen: he likewise purchased several valuable manuscripts, and he searched all old records in the public offices; in fine, he visited all the repositories of learning in the kingdom, for information concerning the ancient history of his country; and he inspected on the spot, every monument of antiquity, which could serve to illustrate his work.

In 1581, the learned Jurisconsult, Barnaby Brisson, president of the parliament of Paris, who was assassinated by the Leaguers in 1591, came to England on public affairs, and formed an intimacy with Camden, to whom he communicated some material informations from ancient manuscrips in the French libraries; and this learned critic always spoke in the highest terms of veneration and respect, for the great abilities of Camden.

At length, after ten years of indefatigable industry, the first edition of his BRITANNIA, in Latin, appeared in 1586, and in one volume, 8vo. The title in English is, "Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent Islands, from the most remote antiquity."

This elaborate work was dedicated to lord Burleigh, and the author gratefully acknowledges the kind patronage of that celebrated statesman, who, we may observe by this instance, was an encourager of every useful branch of literature, though he did not smile upon the muses. Camden's reputation was now raised so high, that he was styled by some foreign writers the Varro, by others, the Strabo,

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and Pauſanias of Britain; and theſe encomiums had a happy effect on the generous mind of our author, inciting him to add every improvement to his performance, the ſubject would admit of. With this view, he reſided, during the year 1589, in Devonſhire, and paſſed part of the time at Harcomb, a village which gives title to a prebendary of the cathedral of Saliſbury, and to which Camden had been preſented this year, by his friend Dr. John Piers, biſhop of the dioceſe. After having viſited every part of the weſt of England, where any veſtiges of antiquity were to be found, he proceeded to Wales, in company with the learned Dr. Godwin, afterwards biſhop of Hereford; by whoſe aſſiſtance he made many valuable diſcoveries of the antiquities of this celebrated country, and inſerted them in the fourth edition of his *Britannia*, which was publiſhed in 4to, in the courſe of the year 1590.

Dr. Graunt, the head maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, dying in 1592, Camden was appointed to ſucceed him; and being at this time afflicted with an ague, he did not make any excurſions in purſuit of his favourite plan till the ſummer vacation in 1593; he then viſited Oxford, and carefully copied the heraldry and inſcriptions of all the curious monuments in the churches and chapels of this famous city.

Our learned antiquary's next performance was, a Greek grammar for the uſe of Weſtminſter ſchool, which was the only grammar in uſe in all the public ſchools for above a century after his death; and ſo conſtant was the demand for it both at home and abroad, that a new edition was printed every year. His friends however, thought the office of a ſchool-maſter rather too fatiguing for his conſtitution; and the confinement not well adapted

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to his active genius. To relieve him therefore from a ſtation which prevented the exertion of his admired talents for hiſtory and antiquities, they procured him a more ſuitable employment, through the intereſt of Sir Fulke Greville, who obtained him the honourable office of clarencieux the ſecond king at arms, an appointment which excited the envy of Ralph Brooke, the York-herald, who had a claim from long ſervice to the promotion Camden had obtained by ſuperior intereſt. Mr. Brooke determined to gratify his ſpleen, by attacking his ſucceſsful rival in the tendereſt part, publiſhed a tract, intitled, "A diſcovery of certain errors publiſhed in print, in the much-commended Britannia." The errors detected were very trifling, chiefly reſpecting pedigrees, in which branch it might well be imagined the herald, after many years practice, was more critically exact, than our celebrated hiſtorian; and in the fifth edition of the Britannia, proper notice is taken of Mr. Brooke's attack, which in part is refuted; at the ſame time the candid author acknowledges, that it was not poſſible to compile a work of that nature, without ſome errors. In the end therefore, his reputation was not injured by this piece of ill-natured criticiſm. In 1600, our indefatigable author undertook a journey to the North of England, accompanied by Sir Robert Cotton, the founder of the Cottonian library: they ſpent ſome time at Carliſle, and having ſurveyed every remarkable curioſity in that part of our iſland, they returned to London; and Camden, before the year cloſed, publiſhed, in ſmall quarto, "A deſcription of all the monuments of the kings, queens, nobles, and others in Weſtminſter-Abbey, with their inſcriptions; together with an hiſtorical account of the foundation of that church."

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Mr. Camden had long formed a plan for writing a civil hiſtory of England; but it is probable, that the change of affairs, upon the death of queen Elizabeth, prevented his carrying it into execution; for ſoon after that event, he ſent his valuable manuſcripts and printed copies, of the ancient hiſtorians of Britain, to Frankfort, where a new edition of the remains of theſe authors was printed and publiſhed under his correction, with the following title: "Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus deſcripta; ex quibus Aſſer Menevenſis, Anonymus de vita Gulielmi Conquæſtoris, Thomas Walſingham, Thomas de la More, Gulielmus Genuticenſis, Giraldus Cambrenſis. Plerique nunc in lucem editi ex bibliotheca Gulielmi Camdeni." This judicious reſtoration of ſuch valuable authors, he dedicated to his conſtant friend Sir Fulke Greville. In 1605, he publiſhed, "Remains of a greater work concerning Britain, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, ſurnames, empreſes, wiſe ſpeeches, poeſies and epitaphs." This curious tract chiefly relates to the habits, manners and cuſtoms of the ancient Britons and Saxons; and it is dedicated to Sir Robert Cotton, founder of the Cottonian library, but for what reaſon is not known; it is ſubſcribed only with the final letters of our author's name E. N.

In 1606, we find Mr. Camden, for the firſt time, employed in the ſervice of a royal patron, James I. who being deſirous to expoſe to the eyes of all Europe the machinations of his popiſh enemies, and at the ſame time to juſtify the rigorous meaſures which were neceſſarily taken to ſecure the three kingdoms againſt future attempts of the ſame horrid nature as the gunpowder-plot then lately diſcovered; thought proper to cauſe a kind of manifeſto

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to be drawn up in Latin, in order to be sent abroad and dispersed by the British ministers at foreign courts, so as to be circulated to all parts of Europe; and our historian having at this time the reputation of being the most elegant and correct Latin writer in England, he was ordered to draw up this manifesto, in which likewise the foreign protestant churches were assured of his Majesty's protection, in case the designs of the popish party to extirpate the reformed religion, should be manifested by any act of open violence. This piece was published in 1607, and does great honour to Camden, not only with respect to the style, but to the masterly manner in which he has treated the subject of the memorial. The same year, he published the last perfect edition of his Britannia in folio, considerably enlarged and improved, and illustrated with maps; from which edition, all the translations in English, of any repute, have been made.

From this time to the year 1612, we have no account of this great man's literary labours, nor any anecdote concerning him, except that he had a fall from his horse, by which he hurt his leg so much, that he was confined for several months; and it is probable this accident might require a total remission of his studies for a time. But at the above-mentioned period, he was obliged to visit Oxford on a mournful occasion; to shew the last solemn token of respect to the manes of his deceased friend Sir Thomas Bodley.

This gentleman, who has endeared his name to latest posterity, by founding the noble library at Oxford, called after him, "*The Bodleian Library*," was the son of an eminent merchant at Exeter, who having early embraced the reformed religion, and being menaced with persecution on that account, fled with his son to Geneva, and re-

mained there, during the turbulent reign of queen Mary.

Upon the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth, they returned home, with the other proteſtant exiles; and young Bodley, having made a conſiderable progreſs at Geneva in divinity and the learned languages, was ſent by his father to Magdalen college, Oxford; in 1563, he took his degree of maſter of arts; in 1565, he obtained a fellowſhip in Merton college; in 1569, he was elected one of the proctors of the univerſity; and for a conſiderable time, during a vacancy, he ſupplied the place of univerſity orator. His friends now having in view ſome preferment for him about the court, in 1576, he went abroad to make the tour of Europe, and perfect himſelf in the modern languages: he continued about four years on the continent, and upon his return, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of hiſtory and politics to qualify himſelf for public employments; and he was very ſoon called upon to exert his talents in ſtations of great dignity and importance. From gentleman-uſher to queen Elizabeth, he roſe to be her Majeſty's ambaſſador to the courts of Denmark and France; and her repreſentative in the council of ſtate of the United Provinces in 1588, where he managed the queen's affair ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the miniſtry at home, that he was continued in this high office till 1597, when all the public negociations with the ſtates being ſucceſsfully terminated, he was recalled. But inſtead of meeting with that reward for his eminent ſervices he had a right to expect, he found his own intereſt declining with that of his patron the earl of Eſſex, and in a fit of diſguſt he retired from court and all public buſineſs; and though afterwards ſolicited, he never would accept of any new office under the government; but king James, on

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his acceſſion, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

To this retirement from the buſtle of public life, the univerſity of Oxford moſt probably ſtands indebted for the Bodleian library, juſtly eſteemed one of the nobleſt in the world. The firſt ſtep Sir Thomas Bodley took in this affair, was to write a letter to Dr. Ravis, vice-chancellor of the univerſity, offering to rebuild the decayed fabric of the public library, to improve and augment the ſcanty collection of books contained in it; and to veſt an annual income in the hands of the heads of the univerſity for the purchaſe of books, and for the ſalaries of ſuch officers as they ſhould think it neceſſary to appoint. A ſuitable anſwer being returned, and this generous offer gratefully accepted, Sir Thomas Bodley immediately ordered the old building to be pulled down, and a new one erected, at his own expence; which being completed in about two years, he added to the old, a new collection of the moſt valuable books then extant, which he had ordered to be purchaſed in foreign countries; and having thus ſet the example, the nobility, the biſhops, and ſeveral private gentlemen, made ſuch conſiderable benefactions in books, that the room was not large enough to contain them. Upon which, Sir Thomas offered to make conſiderable additions to the building; and on the 19th of July, 1610, he laid the firſt ſtone of the new foundation, being accompanied by the vice-chancellor, and the heads of houſes, with the uſual ſolemnities upon ſuch occaſions; amongſt which was a Latin oration in praiſe of the founder, pronounced by the univerſity orator; which tribute of gratitude is ſtill annually paid to his memory. Sir Thomas Bodley did not live to ſee this additional building completed, but he had the ſatisfaction

ton to know that it was intended, as ſoon as that was finiſhed, to enlarge the plan of the whole edifice, and in the end to form a regular quadrangle; and as he knew his own fortune was inadequate to this great work, he made uſe of his intereſt with ſeveral perſons of rank and fortune, and engaged them to make large preſents to the univerſity to forward this undertaking; to which he bequeathed his whole eſtate; he likewiſe drew up ſome excellent ſtatutes for the regulation of the library, which ſeems to have been the laſt act of his life: he died on the 28th of January, 1612, and was buried in the chapel of Merton college, where a handſome monument was erected to his memory; and a ſtatue was likewiſe put up in the library, at the expence of the earl of Dorſet, when chancellor of the univerſity.

Camden was ſo highly eſteemed by Sir Thomas Bodley, that the univerſity, upon the occaſion of his attending the funeral of their benefactor, offered him the honorary degree of maſter of arts, but he refuſed it; probably reſenting the affront that had formerly been put upon him, when he ſolicited and could not obtain his degree of bachelor of arts. In 1615, Camden made amends for the long ſuſpenſion of his literary talents, by publiſhing his "Annals of the reign of queen Elizabeth to the year 1589, in Latin." He had begun this admired work in the year 1597, by the deſire of lord Burleigh, who ſupplied him with many valuable materials. But, after the death of that miniſter, being deſirous to complete his Britannia, he laid it aſide, till he had finiſhed his favourite work; and then receiving freſh materials from his friend Sir Thomas Bodley, who was poſſeſſed of a great number of ſtate-papers, he publiſhed the Annals as far as he had proceeded. In the year 1617, he completed

completed them by bringing the history down to the death of Elizabeth; but imagining there were some passages in this continuation which might not be well received by king James's court, he would not suffer it to appear while he lived. The first edition of the continuation was published at Leyden in 1625, in octavo. And the first edition of the annals complete in folio, at London, in 1627. But modern historians having made very valuable discoveries, and thrown new lights upon the history of England, at the æra comprised in these annals, they have now lost their original merit.

Camden, now grown old and infirm, laid aside his pen, and following the steps of his late worthy friend Sir Thomas Bodley, he resolved to devote part of the fortune he had acquired, to the encouragement of that branch of literature for which he himself was so eminent. In this view he founded a professorship of history at the university of Oxford, and settled a salary of 140 *l. per annum* on the professor, who reads public lectures on history in Term-time; and having nominated Mr. Degory Wheare, a gentleman who had been educated at the university, and had distinguished himself by his accurate knowledge of history, to be his first professor; it seemed as if the business of his life had ended with this institution, for in the same year, on the 18th of August, 1623, as he was sitting in his chair in his study, he suddenly lost the use of his hands and feet, and fell down upon the floor; he received no apparent hurt from this accident, and he even recovered the use of his limbs; but the disorder terminated in a fever, with which he languished till the 9th of November, when he died, at his house at Chiselhurst in Kent.

His

His remains were depoſited in Weſtminſter-Abbey, in the ſouth-iſle, near the learned Iſaac Caſaubon, of Geneva, a moſt eminent critic on the works of the ancients, who died at London in 1614. Camden's funeral was conducted with great pomp; the college of heralds attending in their proper habits; ſeveral of the nobility and other perſons of diſtinction walked in the proceſſion, and a funeral ſermon in Latin was preached by Dr. Sutton, the ſub-dean. A handſome monument was likewiſe erected to his memory, which was defaced, as it is ſaid, by a young gentleman, who in reſentment of ſome reflection thrown out by Camden againſt the reputation of his mother, broke off the noſe from his effigies, but it has been lately repaired at the expence of the univerſity of Oxford.

Mr. Camden's character, as a writer and as a man, acquired him the higheſt degree of reputation, both at home and abroad; and every man of eminence for any branch of learning, cultivated his correſpondence and friendſhip. To have travelled into England, and not to have viſited him, would have been deemed ſuch an omiſſion in foreigners of note, that to avoid the imputation of it, he uſed to write his name, in their diaries or pocket-books, in teſtimony of having ſeen them. And as to his own countrymen, the greateſt ornaments of human learning, his cotemporaries, mention their veneration for him, and account it an honour to rank themſelves in the number of his friends. Beſides, the works already mentioned, a large collection of his Latin letters, with ſome ſmall tracts, have been publiſhed by Hearne, from the collations of Dr. Smith.

As to his capital performance the BRITANNIA, the beſt Engliſh edition is that publiſhed by Edmund Gibſon,

Gibſon, biſhop of London, in 1695, which contains conſiderable alterations, improvements, and additions. It has been reprinted ſince the editor's death, with other corrections and additions, of which a work of this nature will always admit.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Life of Camden, by Gibſon, prefixed to his Britannia.

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